

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."—Byron.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

The political outlook at the time of going to Press is still uncertain. On Thursday night in last week it was definitely announced that the Conference between the leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties on the question of the Veto of the House of Lords had broken down. It was accordingly confidently expected that a statement would be made by the Prime Minister on Tuesday, when the House of Commons assembled,

as to the future course of business. This statement was, however, deferred till Wednesday, and then again further deferred till to-day (Friday).

Prospects of a General Election.

If, as seems likely, this statement, when it is made, points to a dissolution, either immediately or in the course of the next few days, a General Election will take place before Christmas, and for this the Women's Social and Political Union is fully prepared. On the other hand, it is possible that a dissolution may be postponed several weeks until certain business has been transacted, either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. In such an event the General Election will probably take place at the beginning of next year, though there is some suggestion that after all a compromise between the contending parties may be reached, which would postpone the General Election until after the Coronation.

The Government Refuses Facilities.

Meanwhile, though Mr. Asquith has not given any answer in the House of Commons to the demand of the Conciliation Committee that facilities shall be given this year for the remaining stages of the Woman Suffrage Bill, which passed its second reading on July 12 by a majority of 110, the decision of the Cabinet on this point is already known. Sir Edward Grey, answering a deputation of women on Saturday last, said that it would be impossible for the Government to

give facilities this year. Accordingly, the Women's Social and Political Union has determined, before Parliament is dissolved, to make a vigorous protest against the treatment of this question by the Government. This protest will take the form of a great and imposing deputation which will go to the House of Commons.

Women's Deputation to Westminster To-day.

The date originally fixed for this deputation was Tuesday next, but owing to the likelihood that the House of Commons may have already ceased sitting by that date, or that only formal business may remain to be transacted then, it has been decided that the deputation shall take place to-day (Friday). A meeting of women will accordingly be held in the Caxton Hall at 12 o'clock to-day, the hour at which business in the House of Commons will commence, and the deputation is expected to start shortly after.

The Work of the Truce.

This decision marks the termination of the truce declared by the Women's Social and Political Union in January of the present year. During the nine and a-half months in which the truce has lasted, a constitutional agitation has been conducted on a far larger scale than that attempted by any of the men's political parties. Great halls throughout the country have been filled over and over again, and resolutions have been passed urging the Government to grant facilities for the Bill. Last week alone the Royal Albert Hall was

twice filled by enthusiastic audiences of women, and other important meetings were held in London and elsewhere by all the Women's Suffrage Societies. Moreover this appeal has been backed up by the Town Councils of Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin and other great cities, who have petitioned the Government to allow the Woman Suffrage Bill to be fully dealt with. Yet the Cabinet refuses to withdraw its veto on this Bill supported by Suffragists of all parties, while Mr. Pease goes so far as to say that public meetings are no indication of the popular will. This is clear evidence that something further than constitutional agitation is required.

A Paraphrase from Mr. Lloyd George.

In a message relating to the Conference on the House of Lords Veto Mr. Lloyd George has written:—

Having in vain used every endeavour through conciliatory methods to win equal political rights for all Britons, we are now driven to fight for fair play in our native land.

We repudiate the claim put forward by 600 Tory peers that they were born to control the destinies of 45,000,000 of their fellow-citizens and to trample upon their wishes for the good government of their own country.

This message, with the alteration of a very few words, is equally applicable to the attitude of the women to the Government. Women have in vain used every endeavour through conciliatory methods to win equal rights for men and women, and they, too, are now driven to fight for fair play in their native land. They also repudiate the claim of the Cabinet to veto the will of the people and to control the destinies of their women fellow-citizens, and to trample upon their wishes for the good government of their country. But where the men to whom Mr. Lloyd George appeals can fight by using their political weapon, the vote, women, who are voteless, are compelled to adopt other and sterner methods.

The Great Albert Hall Meeting.

We have already referred incidentally to the great Albert Hall meeting of Thursday in last week. Never before in the history of the Women's Social and Political Union has the like of this great meeting been witnessed. The intense interest of the speeches, which, as the editor of the *Christian Commonwealth* remarks, were of historic importance; the splendid support which Mrs. Pankhurst received in her declaration of militancy; the wonderful response to the financial appeal of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, amounting to £9,000, for the promotion of the cause: these are things to be held for ever in remembrance. Mr. Zangwill surpassed himself. His great speech, which we are permitted to reproduce verbatim elsewhere, was not merely a wonderful intellectual treat, but also a great pronouncement by a profound thinker. The meeting was, as Mrs. Pankhurst said, a fitting culmination to the great peaceful campaign of the past months.

The Press on Woman Suffrage.

A significant reference was made by the *Times* in its leading article on Tuesday last to woman suffrage:—

Abandonment of all the business of the Session has some obvious advantages for a Government confronted with many awkward questions, such as the taxation of Irish whisky, woman suffrage, the Osborne judgment, and the disastrous consequences of its mining legislation.

The *Spectator* also refers to the advantages which the Liberals hope to gain by an immediate dissolution, and cites as one of them:—

They will be freed from coming to any definite decision as to woman suffrage, and so will be able to secure the help of the Liberal Suffragists at the polls without having to pay the price. Promises to women are easily made by candidates at a General Election, and it is the custom on one side not to keep them, and on the other to forget this fact and trust to "Liberal principles, &c., &c."

Items of Interest.

The Cork Corporation and the Southport Town Council have passed resolutions calling upon the Government to provide facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

The Bangor Women's Liberal Association has passed two resolutions, the one in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and the other to Mr. Lloyd George to reconsider his attitude with regard to this matter.

Speaking on Wednesday in last week at the Chelsea Town Hall, Lady Frances Balfour said that the evidence she had listened to upon the Divorce Commission was enough to convince anyone of woman's need for political power. She added that, as far as logic went, the cause of woman's enfranchisement was won, but it required more than logic to arrest the attention of many people, and it was this fact that the militant Suffragists had realised. When people saw that women cared about the cause to the extent of throwing stones and smashing windows they realised that there was something in it. Woman Suffrage was coming, and coming soon.

Readers will be glad to know that the Woman's Press will publish shortly two new pamphlets—(1) Mr. Zangwill's speech at the Albert Hall; (2) Mr. Pethick Lawrence's articles, "Women's Votes and Wages."

Contents of this issue.

As announced last week, we publish in this number an article by the celebrated composer Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., entitled "Better Late than Never." We also have much pleasure in presenting our readers with a verbatim report of Mr. Zangwill's brilliant speech at the Albert Hall last Thursday, as well as reports of the other speeches on that occasion. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the significance of the present moment in the Woman's Movement; Mr. Pethick Lawrence concludes his series on "Women's Votes and Wages," and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in the leading article, deals with the political outlook. We also publish the letter which the Conciliation Committee have sent to the Prime Minister.

SELF RELIANCE.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

There has never been in the whole history of reform in this country such a great Constitutional agitation as the Woman Suffrage Agitation of the present day.

What a record of meetings in London halls was made in Suffrage week, which ended last Monday! One great meeting in the Queen's Hall, one in 'Caxton Hall, one in St. James's Theatre, where every available seat was sold, one important ticket meeting in the Memorial Hall, to say nothing of various other gatherings, and as a culmination two mammoth meetings in the Royal Albert Hall with but two days' interval between them!

Is there any other cause that could muster so many and such great meetings in one week, in one month, or even in one year? During the past twelvemonth Suffragists have held six monster meetings in the Royal Albert Hall, and all the political parties put together have held but three. In the Queen's Hall Suffragists have held thirty-four meetings, and all the political parties put together but thirteen. These figures are typical of our campaign throughout the length and breadth of the land compared with the campaign of Conservatives or Liberals, Tariff Reform Leaguers, Free Traders, Labourists, or Land Reformers. Such a record speaks for itself, and shows the vitality of this cause compared with all other causes that claim the attention of the country. Yet the political ostriches of both parties bury their heads in the sand and deny that there is any real demand for Votes for Women.

The party leaders tell us that instead of putting pressure upon them to take action, it would be better business on our part to educate the people. And those who give us this advice are the very men who pull the wires of the party Press, manipulating it in such a way that the people outside the circle of the Suffrage world may be kept in ignorance, if possible, even as to the existence of this agitation.

How much have the general public been allowed to know of Suffrage week? Practically nothing. Last Thursday night saw the Albert Hall filled from floor to ceiling, a great speech was delivered by a distinguished man who as an artist holds a reputation second to none in the world of letters; a speech full of epigram, full of wit as well as of wisdom. Not one word of that speech was reported or even referred to by the party Press. In one or two London papers the sensational fact that £9,000 had been raised at the meeting was mentioned; in others no reference whatever was made to the matter and, as far as their readers were concerned, the public remained in ignorance of that record of constitutional agitation in the Albert Hall on the 10th November. So much for the value of constitutional agitation in educating the mind of the nation!

Again we have been challenged to show significant public support for the Conciliation Bill now before Parliament, and in response to this demand we have organised the greatest political procession ever held, the greatest open-air demonstrations ever organised in the history of this country. We have piled up witness upon witness and proof upon proof as no advocates for any other one reform have ever done before.

And at the end of it all, when energy, strength, health and life have been spent, together with thousands of pounds of women's hardly-won money, we are told with cool effrontery that the Cabinet refuses to withdraw its veto upon the Bill passed in the House of Commons by a greater majority than that obtained by the Government for any of its great measures.

What is the game of the Government? It is an old game. We know it only too well. The politicians' game is to urge women to put out their strength in so-called constitutional agitation to the very uttermost limit of their capacity, so that exhaustion shall supervene when disappointment comes at the end of the prolonged effort and strain. Their game is to raise hope only that they may kill it, and by killing hope to crush the spirit that is in this movement. Their game is also to render the agitation stale in the country.

They succeeded once. They hope to succeed again. In 1880 and for four years afterwards the Suffrage movement was a live political issue. Great enthusiastic meetings were held, many great petitions were sent to Parliament, influential friends were won to the cause. Promises were made, and hope was raised to the pitch of certainty. At the moment when realisation was all but within the grasp of the reformers they were betrayed by the Prime Minister of the Liberal Government then in power. And the blow coming at the end of four strenuous years of uttermost effort crushed for twenty years the spirit of the agitation.

What was done in 1884 could be done again but for one thing. The only different factor in the situation

is the militant movement. Meetings can become stale in 1911, as they became stale in 1885. The country can again grow sick and tired of argument without action as it did then. But happily we understand the game now, and can take a hand in it and can play it.

It is action, and action alone, that can keep the question of Votes for Women a living issue in the country. The very life-blood of this Movement is "Deeds, not Words." It is not by giving argument till argument is stale that we shall convince and carry the country. It is by giving battle when the appeal to reason has been spurned. Only those who can suffer and fight for their convictions possess the power to rouse amongst the great mass of the people a sense of honour and a determination to see fair play.

Twenty-five years ago hope was crushed in the hearts of women because they placed their hope and their reliance upon the action of others, and those in whom they trusted failed them. To-day our hope is in ourselves—our reliance on ourselves. Thus we have found the true centre of gravity; no action of other people can move us. No failure but our own failure can injure our cause. What the Government is going to do, important as it is, is not half so important as what we ourselves are going to do. Are we going to rise to the occasion? Is there dignity, is there courage, is there indomitable determination, is there disregard of self, is there willingness to endure hardship in women to-day? If so, all is well. We possess the pledge of victory. We possess it in ourselves.

Deeply as we honour the women who began the struggle, for their lifelong service to this cause, we honour them most of all because they have been ready to learn with the younger generation this new great lesson of self-reliance. Many of them are taking part in our deputation to the Prime Minister on Friday. After forty years of so-called constitutional action, they have been brought reluctantly to the realisation so difficult for women trained in submission to grasp, "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

Several women over seventy years of age, two women over eighty, and one woman over ninety-three have volunteered to accompany Mrs. Pankhurst and if arrested to share her imprisonment. Many others have written saying that the infirmities of old age alone prevent them from offering themselves. Women have been the passive creatures of the will of others for many centuries. To-day they are masters of their own fate. In the past we have built with sorrow and labour upon shifting sands of promises whose fulfilment depended not upon ourselves, but upon others, but to-day we build upon the rock of our own resolute purpose.

We call upon those who would vindicate their dignity as upstanding members of the human community to seize the opportunity that is now offered to them by sending in their names at once and by taking part in the deputation that goes to the House of Commons. Political freedom is but the sign and seal of that freedom which the soul has won for itself. "Whether in chains or in laurels liberty knoweth nothing but victory."

(A special announcement about the Caxton Hall meeting will be found on page 108.)

AUX ARMES!

I made the sacrifice; I passed the door,
Where sinner, saint, alike, have passed before—
Reformers, too, pacing the self-same floor,
Counting the weary steps; greeting that star
There midst the driven clouds 'neath the same bar;
Longed for a human sound, shrinking from jar
Of jangling key, harsh voice; felt that the part
Needed a stronger soul, e'en at the start,
Felt the cold, numbing life, freezing the heart,
I made the sacrifice; life nearly spent,
My body broken, but my will not bent,
Held by a wondrous strength—not mine, but sent,
That Death would quickly come I might not pray—
To shirk the fight, that were the coward's way—
My part to push the welcome guest away,
Refuse his soothing cup, and cling to life,
E'en though it bring but never-ending strife
And prove with many future struggles rife.
I made the sacrifice; have learned, since then,
To love my life, work, freedom, fellow-men
More dearly than before; can it be then
That I am called upon again to make
That all-demanding sacrifice, and take
Up arms again for my poor sisters' sake?
How soul and body shrink! but shall hearts fail?
Oh, God of Battles, clothe me in that mail
That gave me strength before!—I come. All hail!

Leslie Hall.

"BETTER LATE THAN NEVER."

By Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.

Last spring I and many other women who had hitherto given no sign of life on the Suffrage question were asked by prominent members of the committee which way our sympathies lay. I, for my part, replied that though the spectacle of any uphill fight inevitably stirs one's admiration and sympathy, more especially when the fighters are found cheerfully facing ridicule, obloquy, and suffering, as do the heroic militants, truth compelled me to confess to lukewarmness on the question at issue. Since then the subject has become to me one of absorbing interest, and nowhere can be found a more unqualified adherent of the cause than myself. Having been asked to state the reasons of this change, I will endeavour to do so.

I should like at the outset to say that what first convinced me this is a vital question, as opposed to a mere fad of the few, was the action of the militants. Where such things are done, deep, fierce fires are burning somewhere—fires such as prevent this globe from becoming a dead thing turning in space like the moon. And when such actions of heroic self-sacrificing violence show up against a background of years and years of quiet constitutional effort, to think of which is almost as moving as the sufferings of the voluntary prisoners, then, indeed, one marvels at those who dare, in the name of dignity or fastidiousness, criticise the militant's methods. It is as if a man on the brink should deplore the ungraceful gestures of one struggling in the torrent to save another's life. We all know the charming French proverb about omelettes and the breaking of eggs; some of us recognise in it an airy statement of one of the grimmest truths upon which progress depends. . . . What of those who not only bow before that truth, but give themselves to be broken?

Thus far I had got when, a direct question having been put to me, I began to think the matter over and read the Suffragist speeches, being well acquainted, by accident of environment, with the views of the other side. At once I was struck by the wealth of divergent personalities self-harnessed to the cause and pulling in the same direction; some ardent and impulsive, others cold and judicial; some sympathetic, others less so; some admirable wives and mothers, others lonely spirits enamoured of independence. Where had one seen the like? And presently literary recollections supplied the answer; the private annals of the French Revolution, the history of the early days of Christianity show us similar pictures; a hint of analogous conditions in yet remoter times has come down the ages in "The Bacchae," though in somewhat different manifestation, for up to now Mr. Asquith has not been torn limb from limb and devoured by the Suffragists; indeed, it has been rather the other way round.

At the time of the great June demonstration I was abroad; the newspaper accounts of it deeply impressed me, still more certain individual reports; most of all perhaps a remark made by that most level-headed and statesmanlike of Scotsmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a friend of his, who repeated it to me, that never in the whole course of his life had he seen anything so magnificently managed as that day's proceedings. I reflected on all that organisation implies, what clear vision of the end, what imaginative grasp of the difficulties to be overcome on the road, what enthusiasm, what hard work, what patience, above all what capacity! When I came home, a friend, who by the by had herself been converted by what she saw that day, gave me Lady Sybil Smith's pamphlet, "For and Against," to read. That was the finishing touch. When once one has realised how the vote may, nay, must affect the lot of women struggling for bare existence, surely the most hesitating can hesitate no longer, but set his face once for all the way the Suffragists are pointing.

Another consideration for me peculiarly compelling is this: all women know, and most men who have had experience of life and held positions of responsibility are ready to admit, that in two points the average Englishman is deficient—organising ability, and what is far more important, moral courage. Now I have always found that even in very ordinary women you can more or less count on these two qualities, and one longs to see them set free to affect public issues where the need of them is so crying, rather than locked up exclusively in private life. If only for this reason: it is possible that these same faculties are dormant in men and may be stung into life by the spectacle of women

exercising them without peril to the State. And, indeed, nothing more effectively spurs on the laziest and most self-satisfied of us than witnessing the efficiency of persons we foolishly considered our inferiors.

The last of the considerations I can think of as having appealed to me, and which therefore I mention last, is how the vote will help women devoted to the cultivation of some special gift, who are at present hampered by sex, both directly and indirectly, at every turn. If a personal anecdote on this subject be permissible, may I venture to recount one which showed me very early in the day against what sort of back-drift of prejudice we have to contend? I was a musical student in Germany then (after several years of civil war, by-the-by, in order to attain that position), and by chance one of the great pillars of Wagnerism was present one day when I was playing some composition of mine. A few days later I met him again, and he said: "Let me hear that thing again, for on reflection I cannot believe a woman could write anything as good as it seemed to me to be." I did so, and presently remarked, half in joke, "What's the use, for to-morrow you will slip back into scepticism and distrust your present impression?" And he, being a clever man, and honest, said thoughtfully, "That is more than probable."

In a way, such an eye-opener on the threshold of one's career was not a bad thing; it taught one to concentrate one's energies on doing as well as possible without looking for help or recognition. But if I refer to it now it is mainly as paving the way to an explanation why many women whose life has been spent in working with a special tool placed in their hand by nature have been slow, as I was, to join the ranks of the Suffragists. Some struggles are so severe, so endless, that one dare not stop to ponder the theory of it all. In one's ear the instinct of self-preservation whispers, "That way madness lies"; for the thought of wrongs you are not personally intended to cope with is enervating and dispersing, whereas the same thought to those whose noble mission it is to forge a remedy, is of all influences the most inspiring, strengthening, and steady.

May I, in conclusion, say how ardently I wished some prominent Suffragist could have been present the other day to note with me what a profound impression the two or three Suffrage meetings he had attended made on the mind of a foreigner who counts, whose words (and I know he is writing an article on the subject) are read throughout Austria and Germany—to wit, Hermann Bahr, the dramatic author and journalist. I saw him just after he had come from the Trafalgar Square meeting, and he could literally talk of nothing else all the evening. His last words I well remember. "These people," he said, after describing to us in brilliant summary all he had seen and heard, "these people have the seal on them of those who inevitably win, partly because their cause is right, partly because one sees they will never accept defeat." After a pause he added, "I suppose they know they cannot but win?" I answered I believed they did.

THE TORCH OF LIBERTY.

(Written after Christabel Pankhurst's speech at the Albert Hall, November 10, 1910.)

Our souls long years in prison were—
In dungeons small and mean;
Purblind behind the bars they lay
As they asleep had been.

When suddenly there came a flash—
A lightning, living shaft:
One of us caught it, passed it on—
We woke, seized it, and laughed.

Men tried to wrench it from our hands—
That heaven-sent golden gift!
Bethink you! Back to prison bars
Now, when the shadows lift?

This is the Torch of Liberty!
What patriot lets it go
Once he has seized it? So we cried
"A thousand times No! No!"

The love of Liberty burns bright
In every true-born heart—
Rise, women, rise! The time has come!
You're needed! Play your part!

G. Vaughan.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore Street.
(Cavendish Square) London W.

BLOUSES & TEA GOWNS



NEW FETE BLOUSE (as sketch), an entirely new idea, in best quality nylon, with wide ribbon of contrasting colour underneath, round the figure and over the shoulders, finished with black ribbon velvet, and lace vest and collar. **21/9**
In black, white, and all shades.



Quilted Japanese Dressing Gown (as sketch), in good quality silk, made high to throat, with extra width across chest; well cut and finished. In purple, green, wine, vieux rose, sky, pink, navy, brown. **15/9**

SENT ON APPROVAL.

Debenham & Freebody

THE SWORD AND THE SPIRIT.

By Israel Zangwill.

A Speech delivered by Mr. Zangwill at the Royal Albert Hall, Nov. 10, 1910.

Cabinet Ministers, whether for or against Female Suffrage, were last year unanimous in assuring us that the cause had been put back by the militant tactics of the body which is responsible for this mammoth meeting. Never had Female Suffrage stood so remote and uncertain. When I remember our majority of 110 in Parliament I am tempted to say to those Ministers, in the words of the Gospel, "Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and the earth, how is it ye do not discern this time?" Never was Female Suffrage so near and so certain. The principle of Votes for Women is now absolutely safe—far safer than the places of those Cabinet Ministers. If Mother Shipton had been a real prophetess, she would have left us as a prophecy—

When shall women vote?

When men fly.

I believe that in the drowsy circles and old-world haunts of the Anti-Suffrage League, the question of Female Suffrage is still regarded as open to debate. Not so in live political circles. Not even in Parliament. There the question is no longer "Whether;" it is "How?" It is not now "Shall women have votes?" but "Which party shall collar women's votes?" The settling of this little question is the only thing that delays our triumph. Till the other day both parties banged the door in woman's face. Now both are fighting to hold the door open for her, and it is only because this excess of chivalry blocks the doorway that she is still outside. But the object of our movement is not votes for Conservatives nor votes for Liberals, but votes for women. And having come thus far across every obstacle—over hedges and ditches, over bogs and mountains, over policemen and Premiers—we are not going to sit down patiently while Parliamentary parties work out their mutual long-drawn intrigues. That may take years, and, as Bacon reminds us, delays are dangerous. We demand that our victory shall be translated into legislation forthwith. We denounce the mean trick of denying us the chance of a third reading. That is not playing the game.

The Suffrage movement has brought many useful side-lessons. The penetration of its martyrs into our prisons has thrown most valuable illumination upon the abuses in those prisons, and the penetration of the cause into Parliament has turned a searchlight upon the abuses in Parliament. Laymen like myself, driven from our desks to the platform by the stupidity of the professional politician, stand in amazement before the defects of the political machine. Any blockhead in Parliament can block a bill, any parrot can talk it out, while even when a large majority has endorsed it, the Prime Minister can cut it dead. We men at least imagined we were living under representative government. But where is our representative government if a majority of 110 can be thus mocked and nullified? Mr. Asquith can see the mote in the eye of the Lords. Let him first remove the beam in his own.

The Prime Minister's Paradox.

Mr. Asquith last night dubbed the international situation *re armaments* a tragic paradox. I doubt if British history has ever produced a more comic paradox than the position of Mr. Asquith, who while his hands are raised to heaven in protest against the veto of the Lords is standing with both feet on a majority in the Commons. Three hundred members of Parliament voted for our Bill and twenty-four more paired in its favour, yet because this solitary autocrat regards Female Suffrage as a social calamity that would let loose upon the country the element he describes as fickle and capricious, these 324 men, including the leaders of all the other parties, count for nothing. We demand the removal of this Asquith veto; we demand the liberties of Parliament against the tyranny of the Cabinet. "I invite you," said Mr. Asquith in this very Hall, "to consider the veto of the Lords as the dominating issue in British politics." I am sorry to tell him there is no such dominating issue. If the subject was ever burning, the Conference has quenched it. But even at the height of the flame, what majority did Mr. Asquith obtain for his Veto Bill? One hundred and three. One hundred and three after the last ounce of pressure had been put on, after every possible political combination had been exhausted! We have a majority of 110, with 180 absentees still squeezable. I invite Mr. Asquith to consider Female Suffrage the dominating issue in British politics. I call on the Liberal leader to bow to the

Liberal majority. I say Liberal majority, though I know that the majority comes from both sides of the House. But one result of the searchlight which Female Suffrage has turned upon the House has been to disclose who are the real Liberals and who are the real Conservatives. For what can be more Radical than to admit a new sex to the franchise, and what can be more Tory than to cling blindly to the *status quo*? The unhappy Members of Parliament, driven by Whips to vote with the Party into which they were born, pitchforked, or seduced by their ambitions, were for once allowed to be true to their own selves. The House of Commons was turned into a Palace of Truth. What strange sights we saw then! Asquith stood revealed as a Tory, Balfour as a Liberal, Winston Churchill as a wobbler, and Lloyd George as a lawyer. We witnessed the Gilbertian situation of the Tory leader instructing the Liberal leader that government rests upon the consent of the governed. That both parties are bitterly dissatisfied with their leaders is an open secret. I can only suggest they should swap them. Perhaps this is what the Conference has been discussing. Perhaps this is its jealously guarded secret. I am sure it is a solution which Suffragists would welcome.

Democrats in a Dilemma.

The case of Winston Churchill and Lloyd George differs from the case of Mr. Asquith. These gentlemen are not too Tory; they are too Liberal. They are afraid—and I believe honestly afraid—that the ladies enfranchised by our Bill will turn them out of office, and with them all their cherished programme of social reform. Panic-stricken, they count the Tory chickens before they are hatched, and protest that they will eat them out of house and home. I am not concerned to dispute their figures or their calculations, however questionable. They are entitled to their point of view. But it is the point of view of purblind party politicians, not of far-sighted statesmen. These bouncing democrats show little faith in their own speeches, or in the large forces that they declare to be shaping the future. For if, as Mr. Lloyd George told us in his City Temple speech, the storm-cone has been hoisted in social politics, does he suppose that the world-wide waves of disturbance which make the weather can be seriously modified by a petty majority of Tory women of property, even if it be true that the Conciliation Bill would produce such a majority? Can a few thousand maiden ladies ride the whirlwind and direct the storm?

If any party should complain that the Conciliation Bill is not democratic enough, it is the Labour Party. If any party stands to lose by an increased Tory vote, it is the small, struggling party that puts Socialism on its banner. Yet what is the attitude of the Labour Party? Is it counting votes? Is it calculating maiden ladies? No; it is regarding justice. While Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill are giving up to party what was meant for womankind, it is a member of the Labour Party, Mr. Shackleton, who is bringing in this Bill, and the overwhelming majority of his colleagues cry with him, "Let justice be done though the party fall." But the party will not fall. These Labour leaders show a larger and a shrewder statesmanship than the Liberal leaders. They understand that there is no item of social progress on the programme of Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill which can for a moment compare in importance or fruitfulness with this Bill of ours, none so calculated to break up crusted conceptions of life and stimulate a fresh current of thought on all social questions. It is a limited Bill—we do not need Lloyd George and Winston Churchill to tell us that—but the enfranchisement of even one woman would be more politically momentous, more historically pregnant than the passage of any of these gentlemen's projects. That single vote would for ever sweep away sex as a barrier to the Suffrage. Indeed, if I had my way, I would begin by giving the vote to a single woman. And I would give it first to that woman who by her public zeal, her oratorical talents, and, above all, her passionate and unrelenting political activity has shown herself most worthy of a vote—need I say I refer to Mrs. Humphry Ward? It is because all Suffragists realise the expediency of small beginnings rather than endless postponements that they have accepted the Conciliation Bill with a unanimity baffling to their enemies and surprising even to their friends.

What do the long-winded speeches of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill against this Conciliation Bill amount to? That it is a Conciliation Bill. It does not go far enough. As if a Conciliation Bill *could* go far enough! As if the very object of a compromise was not a compromise! As if some of us were not as eager as these gentlemen for a more democratic charter! Or as if the Bill would have stood half such a chance had it been broader! Oliver Twist asked for more—it is not recorded that he got it. On the contrary, we are told that the master aimed a blow at Oliver's head, pinioned him in his arms, and shrieked aloud for the beadle. Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, indeed, profess their willingness to give us more—despite of the master! I quite believe them. But when? In some vague to-morrow. But we are hungry to-day. And what assurance have we that they will be in power to-morrow? Or that the Lords will be out of power? No! We prefer a bird in the hand to two mocking birds in the bush.

Not that the Conciliation Bill is beyond further conciliation. Just because it is a compromise and not our full formula, we do not cling to every letter and comma of it. If Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill can find any way of broadening the Bill without narrowing its chances, why, so much the better. We are sweetly reasonable. All we insist on at this stage is the abolition of the sex-barrier. And these gentlemen must induce Mr. Asquith to be equally reasonable and not to insist on the enfranchisement of the entire sex at one fell swoop. For, strange to say, the Prime Minister will only permit his misguided henchmen to mislead us into Female Suffrage on condition the evil is wrought on the largest possible scale, and the whole of this fickle and capricious element let loose upon the country at once. But Mr. Asquith must content himself with a smaller social catastrophe. If he is ready to compromise with the Lords, why should he not compromise with the ladies?

Arms and the Woman.

But if Mr. Asquith hardens his heart and persists in his veto, then there is nothing left but a return to militancy. The truce will be at an end, the era of conciliation will be closed. Mr. Asquith will have to face the question which Mr. Balfour put to him on that magic day when Parliament was turned into a Palace of Truth. How are you to govern in the teeth of all this passionate discontent? No doubt we shall again hear Pharisaic deprecations of militancy, platitudinous appeals for constitutional tactics. But woman is outside the Constitution. The House of Commons has been built woman-tight. Even the friends she has now won inside it cannot fight for her with the true passion that makes history. "Who would be free," said Lord Byron, "himself must strike the blow." Mr. Asquith is not blind to the consequences of his obstinacy, and in his last speech in the House on this subject he solemnly warned women against taking up arms. He—the busy builder of Dreadnoughts—dared, in a voice grave with religious emotion, to commend to you the words of Christ: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Well, we know who can quote Scripture for his own purposes, but I doubt if Scripture has ever been quoted with such ludicrous inaptness. For what is the sword which you women are taking up? What are these militant tactics so portentously rebuked by the Prime Minister? He cannot object to your fighting against him at by-elections—for election warfare is the very breath of his nostrils. He cannot mean the interruption of speeches by questions and comments—for this has always been a feature of British politics. The only new feature is the brutal militancy of the men, the hysterical panic into which the sight or sound of a woman throws them. Mr. Asquith cannot have in mind the threatened campaign of "No vote, no taxes," for since the days of John Hampden the refusal to pay taxes has been regarded as a legitimate political weapon. He cannot be denouncing the old English right of access to a Minister with a petition, for a petition is the very antithesis to a sword. Least of all can Mr. Asquith's language be justified by the acts of physical aggression of which women have been guilty—for, apart from merely technical assaults, these are so rare and petty, counted, as they can be, on the fingers of one hand, that in so vast a movement involving so many myriads of women of all classes they vanish into utter insignificance. In fact, women throughout this whole long fight have wrought fewer casualties than the motor car containing Mr. Asquith's detectives. One dare not mention it in the same breath with a single riot of miners in Mr. Lloyd George's country. What, then, is this sword? Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Asquith has been misled by a metaphor. There is no more sword in the Suffrage movement than in the Salvation Army. Its militancy is not the militancy of murder which Christ condemned, but the militancy of suffering which Christ commanded. The

prison and the hospital, hunger, and darkness, and loneliness—these are its weapons. And they are more terrible than swords. Mr. Winston Churchill understands this, if Mr. Asquith does not, for he designs to blunt your weapons, to pad your prisons with those comforts which male politicians have carefully provided for their own contingencies. You are to be almost first-class misdemeanants. Mr. Winston Churchill in thus drawing the sting of your martyrdoms would weaken you far more than by his vote against the Conciliation Bill. But even this new policy of killing you by kindness must automatically defeat itself. For the easier prison is made the more numerous the applicants will be. Prison has already become an honour, when in addition it becomes a luxury, it will be a fascination. Woman's place will no longer be the home: it will be the prison. And how is the Home Secretary to provide prisons (with first-class apartments) for all the multitude of female rebels? He will be driven back on the old harshness; repression will grow severer and severer; and the old miserable round will recommence. Mr. Balfour was right, you see. No Government can govern in the teeth of all this passionate discontent.

For this discontent is no passing petulance, no fit of the vapours to be dissipated as artificially as it arose, but a righteous indignation that has its roots in basic facts and must grow deeper and wider with every rising of the sun. It is not a discontent which is limited to one country, it is an unrest which is stirring everywhere. Even in Turkey the harems are seething with the new spirit; even in India—Lord Curzon told his Oxford audience the other day—there is a movement towards the emancipation of the native women in the zenanas, and this pillar of anti-suffrage calls for English women to help their dusky sisters who are freeing themselves from the shackles of their old traditions and customs.

The Unanswerable Argument.

The demand for Women's Suffrage has behind it many reasons. It will bring to the State many advantages. And the economic causes which have created a surplus of women and pushed a large number of women of all classes outside the home, there to support themselves, have accentuated the consciousness of these reasons and these advantages. But these economic causes, these reasons and advantages, which we have had to expound to our opponents *ad nauseam*, because they offer those gross material aspects which the Philistine can lay hold of; these causes, reasons

and advantages, though they are true causes, true reasons and true advantages, do not touch the true essence of the question. Were these the real, the inmost truth of the matter, were for example the vote needed simply as a protection for the female wage-earner, the Suffrage Movement would be open to the set-back of the reform proposed by the brilliant Mr. Chesterton, that Western civilisation, having taken a wrong turning when it exposed its women to the greed and competition of the labour market, should boldly retrace its steps and rescue women from the typewriter, the factory, and the coal pit. Looking at the chain-makers of Cradley Heath, Mr. Chesterton, though anti-suffragist, has the frankness to recognise what wretched cant underlies the anti-suffragists' contention that woman's place is the home, and he at least would not withhold the franchise without proposing another remedy for our present discontents. But alas! our civilisation cannot be turned upside down as easily as Mr. Chesterton's sentences, and the typewriter, the factory, and the coal-pit will long continue to enslave women.

It is true the reasons for Women's Suffrage would remain just as potent were every labouring or professional woman restored to the home and supported by the State. For the home is not an isolated point in the void. Just as light travels to it from every star, so every social force crosses and recrosses it. The law of divorce, for example, affects the very foundations of the home, yet not till the appointment of the Divorce Commission now sitting was woman's view ever consulted. And yet the very fact that women are assisting at this Commission, both as Commissioners and witnesses, leaves it open to the anti-suffragists to argue that ways might be found of weaning women's demands into legislation without the direct agency of the vote. What then is the unanswerable reason for Women's Suffrage? The reason that would remain in being were every practical argument of ours faced and countered by the anti-suffragists? It is that votes for women are demanded by women's spiritual dignity. It is a spiritual unrest which is stirring the world of women. It is in female politics that the storm-tone has been hoisted. That wind of the spirit which lifts the curtains of the harem and shakes the walls of the zenana gathers itself here in England to a higher force and threatens the ancient foundations of Parliament. It is urged by Mr. Chesterton and others that this isolation of women from politics springs not from man's contempt for woman, but from a tender consideration for her. It is an attempt to shield

woman from the rough realities of life. It may be so. But the Turk or the Hindu would doubtless allege a similar chivalry for the isolation of his womenkind. Indeed, does not the very word "harem" mean a sanctuary? But whether contempt or consideration inspired these phases of woman's status, they are both outgrown. The Doll's-House is too small for the woman of to-day; she wants a house with more breathing-space, nor do we hold her less immaculate because she concerns herself with the drainage. It is not the least respected members of her sex who are assisting in the Divorce Commission. Woman no longer desires to be wrapped in pleasing illusions and to bask in that man-made social order whose foundations are laid in ruined souls and bodies. We are witnessing, in fact, a new phase in human evolution, and blindness to this phenomenon hardly goes with the type of mind recently recommended to the students of Aberdeen University by their rector, Mr. Asquith—the mind always open to the air of reason and the light of new truth. As the demand throughout the Orient for Parliaments marks the awakening of the men of the East, so the vote is the seal and symbol of the evolution of the women of the West. And because this evolution is a spiritual phenomenon, it needs no arguments, no statistics. It is its own justification. Vainly is it urged that only a minority of women feels with you, that you must first convert all the others. Why should the higher type be dragged back by the less evolved? No! When you have based the claim of votes for women on the spiritual dignity of women, you have based it on elemental and eternal rock. You have formulated a demand which cannot be out-argued by the stupidest politician or the cleverest epigrammatist. You have said the last word, the word that can neither be added to nor answered. The testimonies it can bring to its truth are not words. The only arguments of the spirit are works, and these arguments you have brought—and stand ready to bring—in overflowing measure. From the lady of quality enduring the torture of the feeding pump to the ill-nourished factory girl saving her ha'pence for the cause, from the amateur news-vendor facing the scoffs and chills of the street to the speaker braving the rowdiness of the public meeting—you have raised up a very cloud of witnesses. Self-sacrifice, fearlessness, endurance, unrelaxing labour, sisterly co-operation and cheery comradeship of all ranks and classes, these are the testimonies of your spirit, as they are the guarantees of your speedy and ineluctable victory.

DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD GREY.

"His statement shows us exactly where we are."—CHRISTABEL PANKHURST at the Queen's Hall.

Four ladies representing societies in Sir Edward Grey's constituency, the Berwick Division of Northumberland, and in Berwickshire, waited upon him at the Foreign Office on Saturday to beg his help in getting the Conciliation Bill through the House of Commons this Session. They were Mrs. Gillies, Mrs. Constable, and Mrs. Stewart, of the Women's Social and Political Union, and Mrs. Redpath, of the Women's Liberal Association. The Foreign Secretary had already informed them in writing that he could only give a negative answer; nevertheless, the ladies came.

Mrs. Gillies, in opening their case, said that the Government would not allow the House of Commons to carry out its expressed wish.

Mrs. Redpath, as one of the Liberal women who had worked for Sir Edward Grey, said it was women who kept a constituency alive when things were flat and dull between elections. The Government's refusal to give facilities for the Bill would mean a great loss to the Liberal party.

Mrs. Constable said that of the million women to be enfranchised by the Bill it was estimated that 80 per cent. at least were working women. The situation created by the Osborne judgment was recognised, even in a busy session, as having to be attended to, simply because the men had votes. Mrs. Constable also mentioned that not one member of the deputation would receive the vote by the Bill for which they were pleading.

Mrs. Stewart said that several city and town councils, having experienced the good work done by women who had the municipal franchise, had passed resolutions in favour of the Bill. Patience did not seem to pay. The Franchise Bill of 1884 had been forced through in nine days, though it was at least twelve times the size of the Conciliation Bill.

Sir Edward Grey's Reply.

Sir Edward Grey said that the members of the deputation had spoken so reasonably and effectively on the general question that he was more than ever sorry he could not give a satisfactory answer to their request for further facilities this session. As he had stated in a letter, he had been reluctant to receive a deputation on this account. It was physically impossible for the House of Commons to give the necessary time this year for the complete passage of a Woman Suffrage Bill. It might make great progress if referred to a Standing Committee; but the House had decided that the Bill was too important, and must be considered in Committee of the whole House; and he thought that would be the do-

cision of any House of Commons. There was a misconception at the bottom of the idea that a Bill making such a very great change could be got through in a few days. The Bill of 1884 introduced no new principle; it was a mere extension of the Bill establishing household suffrage in 1867. Woman Suffrage raised a great question of principle on which there was the keenest division of opinion. Any Woman Suffrage Bill would meet the strongest opposition from a formidable minority of the House; the fight would be very long and very severe, and the passage of such a Bill would take not days, but weeks. Numbers of people—he did not share their view—thought such a change would be the end of everything. By no use of the guillotine and closure which the House would sanction could the Bill possibly be got through in a few days. The Government had not vetoed the Bill; they had simply not been able to find facilities for it. If the House really thought the demand practicable and reasonable, it could refuse to go on with Government business and give time to this Bill. The Government could not veto anything the House was really anxious to deal with immediately. No pledge had been given to deal with the problems raised by the Osborne judgment this session.

"Growing Exasperation."

He could quite understand the growing exasperation when the House passed Bills on second reading by large majorities and made no further progress with them. The Prime Minister had given a pledge in the last Parliament that an opportunity would be given for dealing with Woman Suffrage next time a Reform Bill was introduced; but the conflict with the Lords over the Budget had brought that Parliament to a quick end, and there had been no Reform Bill. Further, they were not in a position to say that a reform bill would soon be introduced. As to facilities next year, he could promise nothing on the Government's behalf. He did not see how the Government could make any promises as to next year's business. They had first to decide how to meet the political situation resulting from the break-up of the Conference. His personal opinion was that facilities ought to be given next year for the proper discussion and further progress of the Bill if the House of Commons remained of the same opinion. One way of securing this would be for the Government to deal with the necessary business of the House of Commons, and such Government business as they thought they could pass in the time, and then leave the House quite free to say whether it would continue to sit in order to deal with a Woman

Suffrage Bill. One thing was clear—the Bill must be so drawn as to be open to amendment. (The deputation assented.) As to the present Bill, he was impressed by the arguments brought forward to show that it was not really undemocratic.

He thought that Woman Suffrage had made more progress than the deputation realised. Its opponents, and perhaps even some who voted for it, had never before treated it so seriously as in the last debate. It was certain now that no great Reform Bill could be discussed without the House of Commons having an opportunity of dealing with Woman Suffrage; and the opinion of the House seriously given this year had established a forcible claim that the House, if it so desired, should have an opportunity of taking the Bill to Committee, and considering in what form Woman Suffrage should be passed into law. The arguments in its favour were increasing. Hardly anyone now argued that public life was a rough sphere not suited for women. They were being more and more invited and encouraged to take part in politics and elections, in every kind of public work; and it was impossible that this should continue without recognition that there should not be a sex bar keeping women entirely outside the vote. The common sense and logical feeling of the country—though logic did not decide everything—must cause increasing pressure for the removal of that bar. He thought the question had this year made progress which ought to be felt even by those who were naturally disappointed by the immediate prospect.

The ladies expressed their disappointment with Sir Edward Grey's answer, and submitted him to a gentle but persistent "heckling." For example, would he promise, if the Government were still in office, to use his influence to obtain facilities for the Bill next year? He replied that one could not promise to use one's personal influence in the Government. Individual members of the Government did not say what part they had taken. His desire was that ways should be found for getting facilities.

Another lady, nevertheless, asked whether Sir Edward would raise the question himself. "I cannot say anything," he replied, "about discussions in the Cabinet." To a remark that the deputation, while very grateful for his personal opinion, were impatient because promises had been made which were never fulfilled, he said that impatience was common to everything in political life. When Parliament met they would be confronted with impatience about many questions.

One of the ladies rejoined that their case was peculiar because they had no representa-

tives. A Parliament of men could not fully represent women. It was impossible for men to legislate fairly for both sexes.

Sir Edward Grey: Now you are arguing for the admission of women to the House of Commons, which is a different thing.

The lady disclaimed any such intention.

Sir Edward Grey, in conclusion, said that one member of the deputation had argued very forcibly that the franchise was needed to enable women to exert influence on the representatives of the people. That was one of the strongest arguments in favour of the desired change.

CORK DEMANDS THE BILL.

A deputation of the Cork Branch of the Irish Women's Franchise League waited last week on the Corporation, the members being Miss Atkins, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Ridge, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Mooney, Mrs. Connell, Miss Reid, and Miss Day. Mr. Lane moved the suspension of the Standing Orders and read the motion on the agenda:—

"That the Council of Cork approves of the Conciliation Bill introduced to give the Parliamentary franchise to such women as already have the municipal franchise, and which has already passed the House of Commons by a majority of 110, and they request the Government to give immediate facilities for its passage into law."

He described the resolution as very reasonable and fair-minded. If women had the right to municipal votes he did not see why they should be prevented from exercising the Parliamentary vote. The position in one case was quite as important as in the other. It was not a concession—it was a right. Women were as keen on municipal matters as probably the majority of men, and the vote would be a benefit to women and an acquisition to public life. Mr. T. A. Callanan endorsed these remarks, and Alderman Kelleher urged the advantage of the vote to women of the working class, who, of any portion of the community, deserved consideration at the hands of Parliament.

Miss Day, on behalf of the deputation, emphasised the democratic character of the Bill, and alluded to the majority of 110 in the House of Commons in its favour. The Irish Women's Franchise League, she added, was convinced that tactics such as those adopted by Mr. Asquith could not find favour in the eyes of any just and honourable men, and they were therefore sure that the Cork Corporation would not hesitate to express a definite opinion. The motion was carried with one dissent—Mr. Dillon.

GREAT ALBERT HALL DEMONSTRATION.

Scenes of Enthusiasm. £9,000 raised for the War Chest.

ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM.

"C'est surtout sur la voie d'une révolution qu'on la croit impossible."—JEAN SIMON.

I believe the Albert Hall was built in memory of a Prince who loved peace and music. To a Suffragette it will always present one of two aspects, and neither of these has much to do with peace, and only one of them has any connection with music, and then it is the kind of music that has to be faced, not listened to. She sees it as a Temple of Liberty, packed from floor to roof with women bent on winning their way to freedom, the platform held by famous speakers, pointing out the straight road. Or she sees it as the arena of the party-political game, again filled with people, but a large proportion of them standing in the gangways, and the platform again held by famous speakers talking about the road to freedom, but carefully instructing the people in the gangways to block that road should anybody in the audience show an inconvenient desire to carry out the directions given by the speaker on the platform. John Morley once wrote:—"It is not palatable for men in power to be confronted by their aims in opposition;" and to a woman who has confronted the man in power once or twice with this object in view it is always pleasant to find the Albert Hall re-establishing itself as the Temple of Liberty by throwing its doors wide to an audience whose definition of freedom coincides with that of the speakers on the platform.

"Money Speaks!"

Last Friday morning the papers were filled with news of the Conference that had failed; in some of them, tucked away in an unimportant corner, the brief statement appeared that a suffrage meeting had been held in the Albert Hall, the night before, at which £9,000 had been raised. That was all. Yet in days to come, when Veto Resolutions and Conferences have been consigned to the limbo of forgotten political issues, the women's genuine vindication of the liberties of the British Constitution will form one of the pages of history; and an incident in the fight that will not go unrecorded will be that great meeting in the Albert Hall that was held on November 10, 1910. To-day, in the face of that lack of proportion which in all ages characterises the records of contemporary events, one can only ask what other political party would raise nearly £9,000 in less than half-an-hour and then, upon the ingenious suggestion of the most remarkable honorary treasurer in the world that "the collection should now be taken," raise about £400 more. It is, perhaps, Machiavellian to remark that "people will sooner forgive the slaying of a father than the taking of their property"; it is Christabellian to add that if the enemy will not believe in our arguments, it will at least believe in our funds. (Albert Hall Meeting, 1908.)

But to us who by the grace of God are not to be counted among the ranks of the enemy, it is not the money we raised last week that will make us remember this Albert Hall meeting long after others have lost their individuality in our minds. Nine thousand pounds is good as far as it goes, and that is exactly £9,000 and no farther—as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will probably be telling us before these words are printed—but the spirit of rebellion, when rebellion has become the only worthy course open to us, goes farther still—goes, in fact, all the way to honourable victory. And the thing one will never forget about last week's meeting was the feeling of rebellion in the air, the knowledge that there in that mass of ordinary looking women was something that not oppression or ridicule or indifference or any of the stupid weapons with which stupidity seeks to conquer great causes, could ever quench or kill.

All through the evening one felt it. This sounds, perhaps, a little portentous; but it was not portentous. Your real rebel is never solemn or portentous; he knows how to laugh, and he knows how to be silent, and he never loses his head. That was the temper of our audience. To an outsider it might almost have seemed a little cold at first, when Mrs. Pankhurst broke the

silence that fell after the roar of applause on the entry of the speakers had died away; but there was meaning in the stillness, a meaning that thrilled ten thousand people and held them motionless while their leader stated the position dispassionately and outlined the campaign to come, should justice still be refused to women. It would have been so easy to make an appeal to the emotions; ten thousand people were there to be played upon; but the moment was too big for that, and the measured words from the Chair, expressive of a revolt among women that was about to become a revolution, were exactly right, exactly what one had the right to expect from a leader who was a great leader. How deep was the meaning of the silence in the hall could be judged by the fierce burst of approval that greeted her ultimatum, "If facilities are again refused, then the truce is over." That sudden fiery response spoke more eloquently even than the voices that came from all parts of the hall, offering the gift of personal liberty in return for the greater liberty of the enfranchised future.

In all the speeches the same fine, evenly balanced spirit of rebellion was subtly expressed, whether it was Mr. Zangwill, now a wit, now a prophet, raising storms of laughter by his brilliant attacks upon the enemy, going all at once to the root of the whole question with his, "This reform is demanded by the spiritual dignity of women"; or Christabel Pankhurst, hurling defiant truths in reply to political evasions—"The present belongs to us . . . What can rightly be done to defend a national honour can be done to defend a human honour . . . We in the militant movement have won spiritual liberty already . . . Is war inevitable? Then let it come!" But never once did humour outrun its limits, or defiance become sensational; for these things only happen when causes are little causes. And all the while the rebel audience knew how to laugh and how to be silent, and it never lost its head; while overhead the draped purple, white and green flags of militancy made a circle of the great hall, broken only by the words across the organ loft—"God befriend us as our cause is just," and opposite, by the banner of the London Graduates' Union, bravely embroidered with the owl of wisdom and of war.

Then, the next day, that poor little paragraph of the contemporary recorder! Truly, it is when we stand on the brink of revolution that revolution to the ordinary person seems impossible.

Evelyn Sharp.

THE SPEECHES.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a tremendously enthusiastic reception, moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting calls upon the Government to withdraw the veto which it has placed upon the Woman Suffrage Bill now before the House of Commons, and to leave the elected representatives of the people free to carry the Bill through its final stages during the present session of Parliament.

In proposing the resolution Mrs. Pankhurst referred to the widespread support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill. Resolutions had been carried with practical unanimity at an overwhelming number of important meetings throughout the length and breadth of the land, the two most wonderful political processions ever seen had taken place in support of the measure, and the very greatest political meeting that the world had ever seen had been held in Hyde Park, when from the platforms, with great unanimity, resolutions were carried supporting the Bill. Societies, political organisations both of men and women, Parliamentary organisations representing the supporters of the Government, had passed resolutions demanding facilities for the Bill. Members of the Government, and private members too, had received more communications in support of it than she believed they had ever had before throughout the whole of their political experience. In addition, the various corporations, following the splendid example of Glasgow, Dublin, and Manchester, had been sending resolutions asking for the necessary facilities to enable the Bill to become law. And the very last resolution of all came from the constituency of that so-called friend but real opponent of Woman Suffrage, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George.

This great meeting was the last constitutional effort of the W.S.P.U. to secure the passage of the Bill into law. Its purpose was to ask that the women should be rewarded by a sufficient portion of Parliamentary time being allotted during the autumn session for the final stages of the Bill. As to what would be the attitude of the W.S.P.U. should they meet with a refusal from the Government, it had always been said that when one enters into warfare one must be prepared for any event, and the Union was prepared. "If the Bill, in spite of our efforts, is killed by the Government, then, first of all, I have to say there is an end to the truce. If we meet the statement that there is no power to secure, on the floor of the House of Commons, time for our measure then our first step is to say, 'We take it out of your hands since you fail to help us, and we resume the direction of our campaign ourselves.'"

Government rested not upon force, but upon the consent of the governed, and if the weakest and most insignificant of the subjects of the Crown withheld that consent, no force, however great, could compel even one unit of the population to give that consent. "Very well, then, since we are denied a voice in deciding how we shall be governed we shall refuse to be governed!"

The first way would be by the refusal to pay taxes. Then there was the deputation.

"If I were alone, ladies and gentlemen, I would go to the House of Commons to protest against the way in which this question has been treated by the Government of the country. But I know I shall not be alone. (At this point there were cries from all parts of the hall: 'I will go, Mrs. Pankhurst; I will go!') I knew that in this meeting there would be a large band of women ready to go and ready to take the risks which accompany their going. I have just returned from a provincial tour, and all over the provinces women who are not here to-night have signified their intention of being with us when we go on our deputation to the Prime Minister, and losing no time in making it perfectly clear as to the stand they take, and they also will be there. We go forward in the certainty that as surely as to-morrow's sun will rise, before many weeks perhaps have passed the women of this country will have won their political freedom!"

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

When the great outburst of cheering which marked the concluding words of the speech had subsided, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke as follows:—

With all my heart I second this resolution. We are fighting at the present time as our fathers fought before us, a great battle for human liberty. Not only is this a political battle, but the battle which we are fighting is also a spiritual battle which is being waged against the powers of darkness. We have come, as you have told us, Mrs. Pankhurst, to a very critical and momentous issue in the history of this fight. We are not gathered together in this great hall to-night primarily to speak or to listen, but we meet as soldiers of a great army. We have come primarily to prepare ourselves for action. We have come to find out what we have to do, and when we have found it out we are prepared to do it. Very clearly and very decisively has the word been given to us to-night: "Fear not; only go forward," and instant has the response of this audience been: "Lead and we follow." Mrs. Pankhurst as the leader of this army has called for volunteers for the fighting line, and right speedily have you responded. We have got our soldiers, and now she calls upon me, as treasurer of the Union, and I in turn call upon you this evening, to provide not only the soldiers for the fighting line, but also the sinews for this great warfare. We are going to raise £6,000 in this hall to-night! I believe we are going to do more. I believe that just as we have come to the most important point of our whole career, so to-night we shall break our own record, and that, as you know, is not an easy thing to do, because it is already very high.

I have said that this is a battle for human liberty. I say more. I say it is a battle for the freedom of the human soul. We have many things for which to thank our friends the Anti-Suffragists. I myself owe to one of them a deeper insight into the meaning of this movement than I ever had before. When a man was giving me a string of reasons why women should not have the vote he summed up at the end in these words: "Man has a sex, women is a sex." This great movement of ours stands for the flat denial of that damnable lie. It is this lie, this poisonous, this pernicious idea that has degraded and defiled the whole temple of human life. The idea that one-half of the human race is made for the selfish uses, for the pleasure, for the sport of the other half of the human race is the greatest cause, the deepest cause of all social misery that we see round us to-day. Yet this idea is embedded very deeply in our legal system of the present day. Did you read

the words of Judge Bucknill when he opened the Derby Assizes the other day? He said that he had before him no less than nineteen cases of criminal assault upon little girls, and these are his own words:—

It seems strange to me that while a man who attempts to choke another man and rob him may receive corporal punishment, a man (and he referred to a case before him) who has ruined his own little girl of 13 years of age cannot be treated in the same way. I declare I do not know what is to be done with regard to these crimes, but something must be done.

Women will get the Vote, and then something will be done. It is the state of the law which is at fault, the law which considers women not as human beings, as men are human beings, not as persons, but as property, and as cheap property at that. The thing will never be right so long as in the eyes of the law such a crime as that cited by Judge Bucknill is regarded less seriously than an offence of petty thieving, so long as the law can deal as it dealt the other day with that Councillor of Bradford, who committed a criminal assault on his little servant under sixteen years of age, and was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment in the first division. Contrast that offence with the offence of the poor old woman who stole a door-mat worth 3d. and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. That is the state of the law in this country, where women are denied equality. Look at New Zealand, where women are recognised as equal in their humanity with men. Such offences as this are treated with the utmost severity, they are considered amongst the most serious—as women consider them the most serious—of crimes. To-day in New Zealand men and women are holding a discussion as to whether offenders of this kind can be kept in segregation as moral lunatics and a danger to the community.

I have only touched upon one thing that hangs upon the triumph of this movement, and I am not going to touch upon any more to-night. If it were only for this, if it were only for lifting women up, if it were only for guarding the children, I should say it was ten thousand times worth while to go on with our great battle. Well, then, women, and men too—men who are standing beside us in this great crusade—we will go forward to-night with renewed determination, with renewed self-consecration, to win freedom for ourselves, for our children, for our country, and for our race. Only we will show our sincerity in deeds, not words; in action, and in action now; and as proof and sign thereof I call upon you in this audience to fill up here and now the promise cards which the stewards will hand to you and furnish us with a great fund for carrying on this holy war.

The War Chest.

Then, for about half-an-hour, promises, beginning with one of £5,000 "from a non-party sympathiser," literally poured in, and very soon the indicator on the platform showed that the sum stood at nearly £9,000, to which total it has since been made up. In a beautiful little speech in which she referred to the prophets and seers, who, all down the ages, had revealed the inner meaning of life, Mrs. Pankhurst introduced Mr. Israel Zangwill. Mr. Zangwill's speech, which was a great literary treat, and was punctuated with almost continuous applause and laughter, will be found on pp. 101 and 102.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

At its conclusion Miss Christabel Pankhurst explained the rise and progress of the Conciliation Bill, the only practical measure to give Votes to Women, but a measure against which absurd and futile objections had been brought by an unwilling Government.

"No time? My friends, we have heard that excuse all our lives and we have always known that there was nothing in it. We have had that excuse given to us by politicians for nearly fifty years; they have never found time in half a century. Do you not think the reason of that is that they don't want to find time?"

"It is time that we used plain and true language about the way in which we have been treated by politicians of both parties, and, above all, by the leaders of the Liberal party. They are talking to us now of next year. We do not believe in next year's existence. We know it never arrives. There is no time like the present. The present belongs to us; the future does not, and we repudiate here and now, absolutely, emphatically, and clearly, any idea of waiting until a future time for this question to be settled. Because we know this, that if they were really, and truly prepared to write this measure on the Statute Book next year, they would do it now. The women of this Union are not prepared to be hoodwinked. We say to the Government, 'Carry this measure now if you are prepared to see it become law, and if you refuse to carry it now we shall take that refusal as a sign of hostility to our claim.' We make no apology for

renewing hostilities with the Government; we are very proud of the fact that the women of this Union are so ready for the fray. People charge us with committing acts of violence. The violence which has been done has come less from our side than from the side of our opponents. But, my friends, what responsible man has ever preached the theory that violence was under no circumstances desirable? Why these Dreadnoughts? Why this great expenditure upon armaments if violence is a breach of moral law? What can be done to defend national honour can be done to defend human honour. We are not threatening violence; we hope we may never have to use it, but if we do we shall have the support of the teaching of great men and women, whose names are honoured by all of us. I am fond of giving you the words of the great fighters for freedom who have gone before us, and I think it is especially appropriate that we should give you the words of those who have held the same political faith as the members of the present Government. We find, for example, that John Bright, who, if ever man loved peace, loved it, repudiated utterly and absolutely the doctrine that there should be patient submission to wrong and injustice. He said years ago that he believed that, however people might abhor the idea that political questions in this country should be settled by force, yet that there is something in our nature which, if evils are allowed to run beyond a certain period unredressed, makes it impossible for the most peace-loving of men to keep the peace. And he said further that, however much we may wish political questions to be settled by moral means, yet "it is no more immoral for the people who use force in the last resort than it is for the Government by force to suppress and deny freedom."

Our American Colonies were lost by actions precisely similar to the action of the Government of to-day. One of the prophets of the revolution against government without consent uttered words which, for want of better, we address to the women of this Union to-night:—

We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves before the throne. Our supplications have been disregarded, we have been spurned with contempt; there is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free, if we mean to preserve inviolate those privileges for which we have been so long contending, if we mean not to basely abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, we must fight—I repeat it, we must fight. An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, to the active, to the brave. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. The war is inevitable.

Is war inevitable? If it is, in the words of Patrick Henry, the American patriot, we say, "Let it come!" He said, and we say with him:

You may cry Peace, Peace, but there is no peace. Why stand we here idle? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take, but, as for me, give me liberty—or give me death!

Yes, women, we do well to go back to the words and deeds of these dead heroes. They have sent a message to us, their spirit upholds our spirit, their deeds are an example to us. We are united to them, dead though they be, by the closest of bonds. Are we likely to listen to counsels of cowardice, which tell us to submit? No! A thousand times, no! I want to say to the women here who are not ready yet to take their stand by our side: We are sorry for you, but we shall fight for you. It is because you are weak that we are determined to be strong. We do not fight for ourselves. We have no need! As far as we are concerned the battle is won already. Mr. Zangwill has told you, and he expressed so exactly the thought that is always with me, that this is not a fight for material advantage, it is not even a fight for better laws, it is a fight for liberty, it is a fight for the freedom of our spirit. We of this militant movement have won that spiritual freedom already. We have won our way through the prison door, we are on the top of the hill, we breathe the air of liberty already. We fight from the right side of the barriers for you. We dare to open the door that you may get through it. We have liberty; there is nothing else for us to win. Laws do not trammel us, because we have fought the battle already. We are free, but we know that for the great majority such freedom cannot come until the State accords it. We know that the great mass of women cannot pay the price that we have paid. We have to fight and win the battle for them. We must have it proclaimed in Parliament that henceforth women are free, that they are to be dealt with as human beings. Therefore our appeal to-night is to the women who are strong as we are strong, is to the women who are free as we are free. We say, "Rise up like a great army, like warriors, prepared to go forth and do battle for those of our sisters who cannot fight the battle for themselves."

I believe we are many enough; I believe we are strong enough to win this fight, and to win it soon. Only there must be no holding back. Those who hold back are self-confessed the weaker of our sex, who are unable to do battle on behalf of womanhood. I am glad to tell you, as recruiting sergeant for this great women's army, that such a host of volunteers have sent their names as has made glad our hearts. When we think of the great band of women we have on our side we can afford to look with contempt, even with pity, upon those who stand against us. Do they really think that the womanhood of this country in the twentieth century can be kept any longer in submission? Neither their ridicule can keep us back nor their use of physical force—the weakest of all things in all the world. None of these things, nor any weapon that they can imagine, are enough to hold back this movement. We go on, like a triumphant army, encouraged by the great example of those who have fought and won such battles before us. We go on and win. We see victory right in front of us.

The vast audience, filling every seat in the hall, passed the resolution with two dissenting

SUFFRAGE WEEK.

On Saturday evening another great demonstration took place in the Albert Hall, convened by fifteen suffrage societies. Mrs. Henry Fawcett presided, and telegrams were read from the two newly elected women members, Mrs. Lees of Oldham, and Miss Morgan of Brecon, regretting that they could not be present. Among members of Parliament who wrote to the same effect was Mr. John D. Hope, who enclosed a cheque for £50. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Hon. Sec. of the Conciliation Committee, moved the resolution calling upon the Government to grant facilities for the Bill this Session, and among other speakers were Mrs. Despard, Mr. C. S. Goldman, M.P., Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Sir John Cockburn, and Mrs. Swanwick.

Every Suffrage society took some part in "Suffrage Week." The Actresses' Franchise League opened the series of meetings on Friday, November 4. On Monday, November 7, an enthusiastic meeting in the Caxton Hall, convened by the Women's Freedom League, took place. Mrs. Despard made a moving appeal for volunteers for service in the movement, and Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, Mr. Granville Barker, and Miss Muriel Matters spoke to the resolution, demanding facilities for the Conciliation Bill. The resolution was carried with one dissentient. The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association and the Artists' Suffrage League held meetings on Tuesday, the London Society for Women's Suffrage held a public reception on Wednesday, the Younger Suffragists and the W.F.L. were in the field on Thursday, while on Friday meetings were held by the Fabian Society Women's Group, the New Constitutional Society, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, and the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society. On Monday the Church League and the Free Church League marched along the Embankment, one attending Evensong at the Abbey, and the other a special service at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. The Forward Suffrage Union within the Women's Liberal Federation held a reception on the same day.

MEN'S DEMONSTRATION.

The resolution calling upon the Government to give facilities for the Bill this Session was passed at many platforms in Trafalgar Square on Saturday afternoon. The demonstration was organised by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and among the speakers were Sir William Chance, Mrs. Despard, Mr. Herbert Jacobs, and Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell (Hon. Sec. of the League).

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT ON WOMEN'S VOTES.

In thanking Mr. Philip Hanson, Commissioner of Public Works, for his lecture at Alexandra College, Dublin, Sir Horace Plunkett remarked that he had lived for ten years of his life where women were on an equality with men in the matter of government, and, although this was not the subject of the lecture, he had a strong leaning towards Woman Suffrage for the simple reason that women seemed possessed of a housekeeperly instinct which was not possessed by men, and which he thought was needed to save the community from national disaster and national extravagance. The subject of the lecture was "The Board of Works."

IN THE TUBE.

First Lady: Yes, I think she must be a Suffragette, or at least she looks like one.
Second Lady (smiling): But why?
First Lady: Because she was so badly dressed! Uncomfortable pause, while a rather smartly-dressed lady sitting opposite loosens her furs so as to show her "Votes for Women" button!

THE SUFFRAGETTE.

She was passing up into Allan's Tea Rooms, in Oxford Street, with a VOTES FOR WOMEN placard still before her and a bundle of papers under her arm. As she caught my eye she stopped with a heightened colour and extended her hand. I marvelled at the change. Three years before she was the beauty of the village, all pride and languor and folly. Here she was, trim and smart, with a strength and purpose in her face that had never been there in the old days. "Are you surprised?" she said, glancing down at the placard. "Yes, I am a suffragette," and she told me how it came about. "Now you will have to buy our paper," she declared laughingly, as she folded one and put it into my hand. "I would have kept her for I could scarcely take it all in; I wanted to know more, to study her. And you like the work?" I asked, at a venture. "You believe in the movement?" She smiled at the banal questions, and then grew grave. "I would be glad to lay down my life for the cause," she said simply. "Good-bye."

L., in the Evening Times.

Youthful Undergraduate (with a laudable attempt at the Oxford manner): Votes for Men, Votes for Women, Votes for Children, Votes for Babies, Votes for Dogs—we can't get much lower than that, can we?
Paper Seller: Oh yes, we can. Votes for silly boys.

TAX RESISTANCE.

One of the weapons of opposition which will be employed by women will be "tax resistance." Those who are proposing to do this will do well to make themselves acquainted, as far as possible, with the law on the question, and we recommend them to apply to the offices of the Women's Tax Resistance League at 72, Hillfield Road, Hampstead, N.W., whose secretary, Mrs. Kingston Parkes, will be pleased to supply them with information.

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MODERN YOUTH.

Dr. Schirmacher * has many things to say which should be of interest to readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. In two very interesting portions of her book she deals with the struggle of the "stronger" sex and the "weaker" sex. She writes broad-mindedly and without prejudice; but she is not afraid to face facts, and towards the "strong" sex she is not sparing in her criticisms, although there is entire absence of sex bias.

She first shows, in the part entitled "Struggle of the Strong Sex," that the whole of our modern civilisation is built upon wrong foundations—namely, on those of force, or what she calls "fist right" and entire self-seeking; and in passing she points out that as men are so fond of telling us that women have never attained to great heights, it is well to remember that no man's successes have been achieved without the co-operation of women:—

Every man's personal success is built up on the sacrifice of women.

In the part devoted to the struggle of the "weaker" sex Dr. Schirmacher has many sad things to tell of—things that workers in the woman's movement know about only too well—of the hindrances placed in the way of women's moral and mental development, of their under-payment, and of the thousands of deserted and ill-treated married and unmarried mothers; and we are led to see that the "impotence of women outside the home has made the struggle for existence the savage and unsocial thing it is." Fraulein Schirmacher looks forward, however, to the day when "woman shall come into her own."

There is coming into co-governing power a sex whose own direct interests are bound up with the practical application of altruism, and in spite of certain individual exceptions, woman as a sex is in her inmost being bound with the law of love.

To the writer of this notice the most inspiring portion of the book is that wherein the writer deals with "The Idealist in the Struggle." Here Fraulein Schirmacher exhorts the young Idealist to face life and see things as they are. She has no use for the person who blindly refuses to see all that is ugly and hateful; but, on the other hand, the Idealist is encouraged not to lose heart, even though cherished illusions must go one by one. The highest, finest kind of courage consists in facing facts, learning from suffering, and yet remaining unembittered.

When all is said and done suffering has been a great school for humanity, and the authoress reminds us that it was after losing her only daughter that Josephine Butler took up the sword in defence of the daughters of the people against the mighty powers of evil.

In the fights to come women will have to learn of much that is evil and bad, and only when armed with the sword of knowledge will it be possible for them to let in the light on dark corners. Fraulein Schirmacher has a message for all such fighters, and they will lay down her book feeling encouraged and refreshed. A mighty bond of sympathy unites women of all countries together in their struggle for liberty, and in Dr. Schirmacher we hail a stimulating teacher and a true comrade in the fight.

K. D. S.

A MUSICAL GENIUS.

We have read with very great interest Miss Ethel Sidgwick's first book, "Promise" (Sidgwick and Jackson 6s.). Not being ourselves a musical genius, we cannot give any opinion as to that side of Antoine Edgell's complex nature; we leave that to the author, whose exceedingly careful and artistic workmanship gives great pleasure in these days of much hasty and slipshod writing. But won't Miss Sidgwick one day give us men with a higher opinion of women, and women who deserve that opinion? There is only one woman in the book who is at all out of the common, and she is only slightly sketched. Madame, Antoine's aunt, is delightful, but then, she is a Frenchwoman, and delightful in an entirely French way. We don't want to hurry Miss Sidgwick (she is not likely to write in a hurry), but we shall be glad to meet some more women of Mrs. Archerson's type. We are sure she has met them.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Leaders of the People." By Joseph Clayton. London: Martin Secker. 12s. 6d. net.

"English Poetical Institutions." By J. A. R. Marriott. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

"The Emancipation of English Women." By W. Lyon Bleas. London: Constable and Co. 6s. net.

"Divorce or Separation: Which?" By Richard T. Gates. Divorce Law Reform. 6d.

"Power usurped
Is weakness when opposed; conscious of wrong,
'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
But slaves that once conceive the glowing thought
Of freedom, in that hope itself possess
All that the contest calls for—spirit, strength,
The scorn of danger, and united hearts,
The surest presage of the good they seek."

—COWPER.

* "Modern Youth: A Guide in the Struggle for Existence." By Dr. Käthe Schirmacher. (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 3 marks.)

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THE PAGEANT, FAIR, AND FÊTE.

Southport, December 14, 15, 16, 17, 1910.

Although we are eagerly watching every development of the political crisis in order to turn it to political account, and although we are concentrating so much of our energy just now upon militant action and the General Election plan of campaign, we must not forget that the next big social function and national enterprise is the Southport Pageant, Fair, and Fête. This very ambitious scheme is now being finally organised by Miss Dora Marsden, with the co-operation of all the Lancashire organisers. Its main purpose is to raise funds for the Lancashire Campaign.

The Pageant will be arranged by Miss Edith Craig, who with characteristic generosity is placing her great technical knowledge and her wonderful organising gifts at the disposal of the Union. She will be assisted by Miss Olive Terry and others.

The Fair will comprise about 30 stalls, including a café restaurant, a cake stall, pound stall, and stalls for art, embroidery, plain needlework, Christmas presents, toys, curios, jewellery, antiques, books, and many other things.

The Fête will include entertainments, sports and amusements, to be specified later.

The help of every member of the Union is needed to make this Fair and Fête the same great success as was the Exhibition held in London in 1909, and that in Glasgow in April, 1910.

Those who are unable to join the deputation, or take an active share in the work of the General Election, are asked to spend the ensuing four weeks in working for the Southport Bazaar.

The Lancashire organisers want to raise a special Guarantee Fund to cover the preliminary expenses, so that the proceeds from the sales shall not be discounted, but shall be available intact for the immediate purpose of Lancashire propaganda and organisation. They urge the members and readers of this paper, who wish them luck, to express it in a practical fashion. Let each one, says Miss Marsden, send one shilling (more if possible) to 13, Neville Street, Southport, towards the Guarantee Fund.

Members all over the country are asked to send goods. Special appeal is made for the farm produce stall; also for the plain needlework, embroidery, curio, and jewellery stalls.

In Southport itself Miss Marsden invites the help of ladies willing to impersonate those great women of the past who figure in the Pageant. There are still some rôles not appropriated.

She calls upon the most generous class in the whole community, namely, the artists, and invites them to give further support to the cause, which they have warmly espoused by taking part in the *Café Chantant* that is being organised in connection with the Fête.

Palmists, lightning sketch artists, sellers, buyers, makers, waitresses, and hosts of others are needed, whose willing help, given in hearty co-operation, will secure the success of this enterprise in Southport and establish the reputation of the Woman's Movement for organisation and efficiency in Lancashire as it has been established in London and in Glasgow.

Only four weeks remain. Therefore, all hands are needed. All energies that can be spared from the immediate political warfare must be devoted to the brilliant success of the Pageant, Fair, and Fête.

Bazaar President: MRS. SYKES, "The Warren," Birkdale.

Hon. Pageant Sec.: MRS. HARRY PARR, Allerton Road, Southport.

Sec.: MISS GRACE JARDINE. Hon. Treas.: MRS. LANGTON.

Contributions may be sent to the following, who will forward them to Southport:

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Bolton	Miss A. Parkhurst	1, Myrtle Street
Bradford	Miss M. Phillips	68, Manningham Lane
Birmingham	Miss D. Evans	33, Paradise Street
Preston	Miss Rigby	41, Glover's Court
Harrrogate	Miss Phillips	109, Valley Drive
Leitham	Miss Johnson	The Hydro
Scarborough	Miss A. Parkhurst	23, Barwick Street
Edinburgh	Miss Lucy Burns	28, Melville Place

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1910.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

Sir Edward Grey's reply to the deputation of
Berwick-on-Tweed suffragists shows that a resump-
tion of women's conflict with the Government is
inevitable. He began by saying that it is the
decision of the Government not to give facilities
this autumn for the final stages of the Concilia-
tion Bill. This decision he sought to justify by
urging the shortness of the Session. Such an
excuse will arouse keen dissatisfaction amongst
women who remember that the Government not only
refused to provide time for the Bill's discussion in the
earlier part of the Session, but deliberately shortened
the Autumn Session by calling Parliament together
unnecessarily late. Sir Edward Grey's further con-
tention that the remaining stages of the Bill will be
"a question of weeks not days," and that a greater
amount of time will be needed to carry this Bill than
was needed to carry the Reform Bill of 1884, is, of
course, very wide of the mark. As Mr. Brailsford in
his speech on Saturday last pointed out, the Reform
Bill of 1884 was an extremely elaborate Bill and
had eleven clauses very technical and very difficult,
the shortest of these clauses being longer than
the entire Conciliation Bill. To carry this Reform
Bill through the Committee stage took only nine
days, so that on the same ratio it would require for the
Conciliation Bill not more than two or three days. In
view of this fact, it is adding insult to injury for
Ministers to pretend that between July 12, the date of
the second reading of the Bill, and the present time it
has been impossible to spare the very few necessary
days for its discussion. Government hostility, and
Government hostility alone, is responsible for the dis-
appointment of women's hope of citizenship. This
being the fact, we dissent from Sir Edward Grey's
statement that the Government have not vetoed the Con-
ciliation Bill. He attempts to shift the responsibility of
the Bill's destruction from the shoulders of the Govern-
ment by saying that if the Commons wished to proceed
with the Bill they could have refused time to all
Government business unless it was understood that
time should be given to this Bill. So they could and
would were they in the habit of asserting their con-
stitutional right to control the action of the Govern-
ment, but as Sir Edward Grey well knows, they
seldom or never attain to the counsel of perfection
which he lays down. It is long indeed since the rank
and file of the Commons have risen in revolt against
their political leaders in defence of any cause whatso-
ever. Indeed, they came nearer than usual to revolt

when, in defiance of their political leaders, they carried
the second reading of the Conciliation Bill.

As the present Parliament seems doomed to a sudden
end, the Government's intentions as to the future
assume a new interest and importance. Is Woman
Suffrage to form part of Mr. Asquith's election pro-
gramme, or is he determined, while denouncing the
veto of the House of Lords, to continue his policy of
vetoing the Woman Suffrage measure? Sir Edward
Grey's speech gives no sign that the policy of the
Government is to be amended in this regard. "As to
the question of granting facilities next year to the
Conciliation Bill, I can promise," he said, "nothing on
behalf of the Government." Evidently the Government
hope to go through the coming Election without pledg-
ing themselves to give citizen rights to the women
of the country. The one really satisfactory feature
which marks Sir Edward Grey's utterance is that
he abandons the discredited "pledge" formerly
made by the Prime Minister. Recalling the fact
that "the Prime Minister gave a pledge in the
last Parliament that the House should have an
effective opportunity of dealing with the Woman
Suffrage question when a Reform Bill should be intro-
duced," Sir Edward Grey observed that owing to
circumstances no Bill was introduced in the present
Parliament, and then proceeded to say that the Govern-
ment are not in a position to say that a Reform Bill is
likely to be introduced soon. It is most useful to have
this illusory pledge definitely and finally cleared out of
the way, for although suffragists themselves have
never placed any reliance upon it, it has proved em-
barrassing because of the use made of it by opponents,
including Mr. Lloyd George, who not long ago declared
that "why suffragists did not give that pledge made
by the Prime Minister a fair run is one of those things
that, when the history of this movement comes to be
written, will be one of the most inexplicable episodes."

Sir Edward Grey declared his complete understand-
ing of the growing exasperation felt by women owing
to the fact that the House of Commons passes the
second reading of Woman Suffrage Bills by large
majorities, and that these Bills then make no further
progress. But women's exasperation and indignation
will be in no wise allayed by the speech in which he
has made so clear the Government's intention to
do nothing to remedy this great injustice.

There is a truly astounding similarity between
the grievance which the Government claim to have
against the Lords, and the grievance which women
have against the Government. Every word used by
members of the Government in their denunciation of
the Lords is precisely applicable to the Government's
own treatment of the Conciliation Bill. Thus we have
Mr. Winston Churchill declaring in his letter to the
chairman of the Dundee Liberal Association: "All
that friendly discussion, prolonged with earnestness and
candour for so many months, could do has been done,
and has been done in vain." Does not this describe
exactly the conciliation movement for Woman Suffrage
and its unfriendly reception by the Government? And
are not the attitude and conduct of the Government in
denying the House of Commons freedom to carry the
Conciliation Bill through its final stages fully described
by the following words taken from this same letter:—
"They assert themselves to be a superior political caste;
they refuse equal rights to their fellow citizens." They
"employ this same oppressive veto to ruin the work of
the House of Commons."

"Veto—utter blank, sullen veto!" This telling
phrase of Mr. Churchill's coining applies with over-
whelming force to the veto which the Government
have placed upon the Conciliation Bill. We gladly
adopt Mr. Churchill's words to express our view of
the Government's denial of our liberties. "We
can submit no longer to this injustice . . . We have
long claimed equal political rights in the constitution
of our country. We are now going to take them."

The deputation of women which proceeds to West-
minster on Friday must be taken as a sign that women
are now determined not any long to beg for justice but
to take it. The conviction which inspires their action
could not be better expressed than in the words of
another member of the Government, who declares:
"Though it has been said that no constitutional re-
settlements have ever been attained except by consent,
I prefer to say that no great advance and progress in
human freedom have ever been obtained except by
stern fighting." With the breakdown of the Conci-
liation movement due to the Government's unfriendly
attitude opens a new chapter in the history of the
active movement for the enfranchisement of women.

Christabel Pankhurst.

WOMEN'S VOTES AND WAGES.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

Statement of the Problem.—The grinding poverty under which many women live, the miserably low wages that they receive, make their more fortunate sisters determined to find a means to put an end to this blot on civilisation; and with the view of winning power to effect this many women are working for the vote. They are met by the anti-suffragist with the statement that the vote cannot affect wages. Women's wages are lower than men's, it is said, for three reasons. These are, firstly, that women are weaker than men and they do less and poorer work in a day; the answer to this is that women are not asking for an equal day's wage, but for equal pay for equal work. Secondly, it is said that women get paid less than men because the latter are working to support a family; apart from the fact that many men have no one dependent upon them while many women are supporting a family by their work, it is not true that wages are paid on this principle—married men and fathers do not command a higher wage than single men, nor do widows than spinners. Thirdly, it is said that wages are determined not by Act of Parliament, but by the law of supply and demand.

Supply and Demand.—It is quite true that wages are determined mainly by the law of supply and demand; but both the supply of women's labour and the demand for women's labour can be altered by means of the vote, and therefore the vote, acting through supply and demand, can alter wages. To understand how the vote could alter the supply of women's labour consider the effect of the following laws:—(1) Increasing the school age from 14 to 15; (2) compelling husbands to give a certain proportion of their wages to their wives; (3) providing a special maintenance for widows. Each of these laws (which might or might not commend themselves to women with votes) would have the effect of withdrawing women from the labour market, and thereby reducing supply. Women might also induce the Board of Education to insist that technical training more nearly equal to that given to boys should be provided for girls, and in this way alter the character of the women's labour supplied.

The Exclusion of Women from Employment.—The vote will also enable women to increase the demand for women's labour by breaking down the exclusive traditions which prevail at present. Men only are eligible to-day for nearly all the better-paid civil appointments under Government, such as Customs officers, tax collectors, clerks in Government offices, and the senior billets in the Post Office. There are only 20 women factory inspectors to 900 men, and only 20 women school inspectors to 250 men. Further, there are many other employments besides those under the Government from which women are at present excluded by law or by Government regulation. The possession of the vote by women will open them up.

The Underpayment of Women by the Government.—The Government employs directly 50,000 women; in addition there are 110,000 teachers employed by the local authorities and indirectly controlled by the Government; further, many thousands of women are working for employers on Government work—making a total of about 200,000, or one-twentieth of the whole number of women working for wages. It is in the power of Parliament to secure directly an increase in the wages of everyone of these women. Moreover, the direct raising of wages of this one-twentieth cannot fail to have an important effect on the wages of the remaining nineteen-twentieths through the operation of the law of supply and demand.

Chap. V.

Every true political economist knows quite well that all the forces which go to make up an economic result are not capable of detailed economic analysis; they cannot be labelled and pigeon-holed and the exact quantitative value of their contribution ascertained. This is essentially true of the question of wages.

Thus, while it is true that wages depend in the main on supply and demand, it is true also that other factors—some tangible, others intangible—contribute their quota to the result. I have already shown how the enfranchisement of women may affect women's wages by altering both the supply and the demand for women's labour; it remains to notice that these other supplementary factors are also dependent on the power given by the vote.

Direct Legislation.

That wages can, under certain circumstances, be altered directly by Act of Parliament (or by the fiat of a body responsible to Parliament) is evidently the opinion of the statesmen of Australia and New Zealand who passed the laws relating to minimum wages and to Wages Boards, and also of the statesmen at home who have recently caused Wages Boards to be appointed in this country. The results in Australia and New Zealand and in this country at Cradley Heath, where the women chainmakers have secured a considerable increase in wages, certainly bear out their opinion; and it may be that much of the worst sweating of women's labour can be prevented by similar means. Again, it is also hardly disputed by anyone that legislation can directly modify the conditions under which labour is performed or the hours during which it continues. These matters are intimately bound up with the remuneration in money which that labour obtains.

Political Goodwill.

It is often a small consideration which finally decides an employer whether to grant or refuse a demanded increase in wages; and among those considerations the desire to keep on the right side of employees because they have votes sometimes plays a considerable part, especially where the employer regards himself as an important local political magnate. In this respect

women employees, because they are voteless, do not receive the same attention.

Custom and Sentiment.

In spite of all that is said to the contrary, custom and sentiment still count for a good deal in business. An employer will appoint a woman to do precisely the same work as has hitherto been done by a man and give her half or two-thirds his wages. Asked why, he will answer, "It is customary." And though this may not be in fact the whole reason for his action, yet there is enough in it to make it a factor in the result. In my opinion the increased status which women will get when they are enfranchised will help them to shake off this custom.

Collective Bargaining.

It is now almost universally recognised that the power of collective bargaining as exemplified by trade unions and by associations of employers has an important influence on wages, for though this was denied for many years by the rigid theorists who took their stand on the sole action of the law of supply and demand, facts have been too strong for them. Women by their isolated position have long been at a great disadvantage in this respect. Sometimes through ignorance of the condition of the labour market, sometimes through their sheer inability to combine, they have been induced to accept wages which in association they could have resisted. When women obtain their citizen rights and are brought into more frequent contact with one another they will escape to some extent from their present isolation, and will gain some of the advantages of collective bargaining. This point was clearly put by Mr. Haldane in the House of Commons on July 11, 1910, when he said:—

Everyone knows that the position of women in point of remuneration, of their wages, is not as good as is the case with men, and that is to some extent due to the fact that women cannot associate themselves together with that force and with that authority which is given by the fact that people possess a certain political footing in the State. If for that reason alone I should like to see that happen.

These four examples illustrate the influence of the vote in affecting wages in other ways than through supply and demand.

It remains to notice three rather pertinent questions which have been put with regard to this discussion.

(1) *Are not the wages of women in reality dependent on the prices which the articles made by women obtain, and in view of international competition is it possible to pay higher wages without placing a tariff on foreign goods?*

I have no intention of entering into a discussion on the merits of a tariff as applied to the industries in which women work; I shall confine myself to showing that wages of women can be raised without necessarily imposing a tariff.

In the first place it is not true that price alone determines wages; the price which can be obtained for goods is only one element in determining the demand for labour; and it is by the interaction of demand and supply that wages are determined. Secondly, a very large part of the women of the country are engaged in occupations (e.g., postal employees, teachers, domestic servants, etc., etc.) in which there is no question of international competition. Thirdly, low wages by no means necessarily imply cheap labour, nor high wages dear labour; employers often find it more economical to pay high wages and get the best work. Fourthly, international agreement is already tackling some of the problems relating to the condition of sweated work, and it might easily be that the provision of Wages Boards and of similar ameliorative legislation might simultaneously be carried out in different countries.

(2) *Will not the entrance of women into the labour market on more equal terms with men injure men and reduce their wages?*

Whether men like it or not, women are being driven to-day more and more by economic necessity into the labour market and are competing with men. And the most dangerous form of competition is that in which women are undercutting men by selling their labour for a lower price. When women's wages are raised so that equal work commands equal wages whatever the sex of the worker, this unfair competition will come to an end.

(3) *Do you expect that the result of women's enfranchisement in increasing women's wages will be immediate?*

The full result will certainly not be immediate. It will be gradual, and it will not be finally complete until all the artificial hindrances have been removed and the change of status of women has acted and reacted upon all the conditions of life. But some improvement will be seen immediately, for just as when a part of the human body has been artificially compressed the slightest release of the pressure brings relief, so it is with the body politic; directly the artificial hindrances to women's development begin to be removed relief will be felt. This relief will extend throughout the whole industrial world of women.

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Lady Carbutt	25 0 0	Miss King	0 1 0
Dr. Frances Ede	5 0 0	Miss Johnson	0 1 0
Mrs. Hese Ayton	200 0 0	Miss Fison	0 1 0
Mrs. Billingham	5 0 0	Miss Burch	0 1 0
The Misses Beck	20 0 0	Miss Cay	0 1 0
Lady Home	5 0 0	Miss Birt	0 3 0
Miss Vera Holme	1 1 0	Mrs. Hazard	0 19 2
H. R. Fergus, Esq.	1 1 0	Mrs. Harman	0 1 0
"A Working Dressmaker"	0 2 6	Miss Cay (per Miss Lillie Roe)	0 7 0
Mrs. Bear	1 1 0	Mrs. Gordon-Stewart (do.)	0 4 0
Mrs. Amy Garrett Badley	10 0 0	Miss Lillie Roe	1 7 0
F. A. Bather, Esq.	0 10 0	Miss Grace Roe	0 1 0
Mrs. H. H. Graham	50 0 0	Mrs. Marcus Woodward	0 1 0
Miss H. L. H. Brooks	0 1 0	Miss Lerner	0 1 0
Miss M. F. Hulme	0 10 0	Miss B. Ridley	0 1 0
Miss J. Buchanan	0 2 0	Mrs. Pollitt	5 0 0
Mrs. Catherine Green	0 6 0	Miss Marion Page	1 1 0
Per Miss L. Ainsworth	2 0 0	Miss Steward	0 10 0
Mrs. Harrison Broadley	0 3 0	Per Miss Fraser Smith	0 10 0
Anon.	0 5 0	Per The Woman's Press	3 0 0
Miss Laura Ainsworth	1 0 6	Miss Margaret Cranford	5 0 0
Per Mrs. Brailford	1 0 6	Miss E. Birnstingl	1 1 0
Per Miss L. Burns	0 0 7	Anon.	1 1 0
Extra Paid on "V.F.W."	0 0 7	Per Miss A. Williams	0 10 6
Mrs. Brailford's	2 8 2	Mrs. Gladys Ainsworth	0 11 4
Mrs. Charlton (aka)	0 5 0	Mrs. Atkinson	10 0 0
Miss J. C. Methven	10 0 0	Mrs. Morris	5 0 0
Mr. and Mrs. J. Ivory	50 0 0	Mrs. Taylor	5 0 0
Per Mrs. Clarke	2 0 0	Per Miss B. Wylie	0 2 0
Mrs. B. Oakley	10 0 0	Café Chantant	36 0 0
Miss M. Lawrence	0 3 0	Lecture fee	1 1 0
Mrs. McKeown	0 3 0	Venue	2 0 0
Miss McKeown	0 3 0	Mrs. White	0 2 0
Mrs. Woolley	1 0 0	Miss Janie Allan	250 0 0
Miss Newman	1 0 0	Per Southport Exhibition	18 11 3
Miss Emily D. Cobb	10 0 0	Per Miss Marsden	0 10 0
Mrs. Carr	0 10 0	Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting (Proceeds)	18 11 3
Mrs. Abbott	0 7 6	Membership Fees	6 13 0
Miss Carmen	0 2 6	Collections, etc.	298 5 5
The Misses Davies	0 1 6	Per Miss Barrett	7 12 3
Per Miss Mary Galtthorpe (for Manchester Campaign)	0 10 0	Per Miss Burns	15 9 3
Mr. and Mrs. Lewis	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Mansel	0 3 9
Albert Lowy, Esq.	1 0 0	Per Miss A. Pankhurst	18 14 5
Ernest Lowy, Esq.	5 0 0	Per Miss G. Roe	32 9 7
Miss Gertrude Lowy	4 10 0	Per Miss Fraser Smith	0 9 3
G. H. Lyster, Esq.	1 1 0	Per Miss Williams	4 1 10
		Per Miss Wylie	0 16 8
		Total	£78,626 1 1

Chaque should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and crossed.

"Barclay and Co."

FACTS FOR MR. ASQUITH.

The following letter has been sent by the Conciliation Committee to Mr. Asquith:—

Sir,—In accordance with our undertaking, I now have the honour to submit to you evidence of the urgency and extent of the demand that the Woman Suffrage Bill promoted by the Conciliation Committee should be passed into law.

The most striking proof that public opinion is behind this demand is furnished by the resolutions and petitions which have come from City and Town Councils. Those of Dublin, Glasgow and Dundee have unanimously resolved to petition that our Bill be passed into law this year. The Manchester City Council by a four-fifths majority, and twenty-three other Councils, including those of Cork, West Bromwich, Perth, Bangor and Southport, have adopted similar resolutions. These Councils are composed of representative men, who speak for an electorate which includes women on whom our Bill would confer the Parliamentary vote.

Throughout the autumn an active campaign in favour of our Bill has been conducted by all the suffrage societies. Our records, which are far from complete, show a total of no less than 4,220 meetings held in its support since the date of the second reading (July 12), most of them within the past eight weeks. They include a vast demonstration in Hyde Park, with 40 platforms, at all of which the resolution was carried by great majorities by an audience estimated by the *Manchester Guardian* at about half-a-million. Similar demonstrations on a smaller scale were held at Edinburgh, Manchester (2), Bristol (2), Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, Sheffield, Brighton, Leicester, Nottingham, Eastbourne, Croydon, Guildford, and in Trafalgar Square (2). In one week the Albert Hall was twice filled by different suffrage societies, a record which it would be hard to parallel in any other agitation. In order to measure the relative energy displayed by this movement we have obtained from the managers of certain of the largest halls in England the following statistics of the meetings held in them during the past twelve months:—

HALL	Meetings for Woman Suffrage	Meetings Against Woman Suffrage	All other political meetings
Albert Hall (London)	6	0	3
Queen's Hall (London)	24	1	13
Free Trade Hall (Manchester)	5	1	12

These figures speak for themselves. They show that the opposition to woman suffrage is inert. The agitation in support of it is incomparably the most active of contemporary political movements. Women have done enough to prove their zeal and more than enough to merit the attention of a Government. If, after a constitutional movement, incessant since 1886 and particularly vigorous during the past five years, they still can fail in the modest demand which they make on the time of Parliament, it cannot be a matter for surprise that some among them should turn to other methods of agitation.

In seeking further facilities for our Bill we base our request not merely on the support which it has obtained in the country, but even more directly on the vote which gave it on the Second Reading a majority of 110. We are in a position to demonstrate that active pressure on behalf of our Bill, as distinct from the passive support, is not confined to the 175 Members who voted with the Conciliation Committee in both divisions. I have the honour to enclose a memorial asking that further facilities be given to the Bill this year, which has been signed by 85 Members who either voted for its reference to the Committee of the whole House or were unavoidably absent from the division.

To meet the objection taken in your former letter to the title of the Bill, my committee is prepared to ask for leave to re-commit the Bill with a general title, if time is given for its further stages.

If any doubt remains that our Bill is democratic, we can submit figures based upon extensive house-to-house investigations, which prove that the proportion of working women among the registered occupiers whom our Bill would enfranchise varies from 82 to 91 per cent. Notice has been given by Mr. Shackleton of an amendment, which deals with the risk of "faggot" voting.

It is the opinion of my committee that three or four days now would suffice for the further stages of the Bill. It embodies a large principle, but this has now been accepted by the House. Its details, on the other hand, are exceedingly simple. The Reform Bill of 1884, with eleven lengthy and very technical clauses, of which the shortest is longer than the whole of our Bill, occupied only nine days in committee.

We beg, Sir, to remind you that our Bill was brought forward during a pause in political affairs, at a moment when no party questions competed with it for attention, and in a Session when time might with ease have been provided. We can foresee in the near future no opportunity so favourable. This opportunity has been so far used only to provide time for yet another second reading debate, which has brought women no nearer the settlement of their question than any of the briefer and more academic discussions, which, since 1870, have issued in the same result. We share the opinion which certain of your colleagues in the Cabinet have expressed, that the "impatience" and "exasperation" of women is intelligible, and that, in Mr. Birrell's words, the time has passed for "shuffling and delay." Our object in introducing our Bill was to provide a

compromise by which a painful struggle might have been ended, and we dread that the failure to use an opportunity which public opinion generally held to be peculiarly favourable, may induce in women a mood of pessimism, and lead them to suppose that further sacrifices are required of them before their grievance can secure attention. We have read with satisfaction the speeches in which Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Runciman expressed (with certain reservations) their personal opinion that full facilities ought to be provided for our Bill next year. We cannot with certainty forecast the course of events during what remains of the present Session, but it is to be foreseen that the imminence of a dissolution may make it materially difficult to provide the time for which we ask. In that event, we venture to ask for an assurance, that should you again find yourself at the head of an Administration, the facilities, which you have been unable to grant this year, may next year be accorded for the passage into law of our Bill, if introduced under a general title.

On behalf of the sixty Members of Parliament of all parties who compose the Conciliation Committee, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
LYTTON, Chairman.

11, North Audley-street, W.
15th November, 1910.

FORWARD!

For nearly ten months there has been a truce; for nearly ten months the soldiers have turned from battle and devoted themselves to spade-work. What it cost them to halt, just when victory was in sight, and spend their splendid energies in the old tasks of holding meetings, walking in processions, getting up bazaars, interviewing Members of Parliament, and doing all the forms of constitutional work which have proved so useless in the past, no outsiders can realise. But the measure of the sacrifice could be gauged by the temper of the audience at the Queen's Hall last Monday. The smell of battle was in the air, and the old fighting spirit was roused with tenfold strength. The Government have had their chance, and they have thrown it away. And now our arms!

In her speech Miss Christabel Pankhurst pointed out that although ahead of us was a General Election at which the voters all over the country would hear of the Government's undemocratic attitude, of its high-handed attempt to override the wishes of the people's elected representatives, yet there was a duty nearer. A deputation was going to the House of Commons on Friday, because it was absolutely essential at this crisis in their political fortunes that the Suffragettes should make some protest against the destruction of this Conciliation Bill. The country expected it of them. People looked to them to assert their rights in this matter, and to show that they still possessed the spirit of determination which had made this movement what it was to-day. Therefore, the deputation would go. There was now nothing to be done but act.

"We know perfectly well they will never do anything for us unless we drive them into doing it. This truce has taught us a great deal. It has taught us the absolute necessity for militancy. It is no good sitting at home and talking; it is no good simply wishing for success; we must give some outward manifestation of the feeling that we have in our hearts. We hope that every woman will consider whether it is not right and suitable for her to send in her name, whether it is not her sheer and absolute duty. It does not matter what other people say, that is what the Suffragettes always feel. What other people say does not matter two straws. It is what you say to yourself in the quiet times when you have the opportunity of surveying your own record that matters. It is what you say to yourself that you ought to be afraid to face. Therefore, do not let any frivolous reason, any selfish reason stand in the way of your following Mrs. Pankhurst to Westminster."

"Young and old, rich and poor, high and low, are taking part in the deputation," said Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in her speech, the substance of which is incorporated in her article "Self-Reliance" in this paper, p. 98, and her stories of the heroines who at eighty years of age wanted to join moved the audience deeply.

A very important and very splendid meeting was brought to a close by a clever and carefully reasoned speech from Miss Evelyn Sharp. She commented on the Anti-Suffragist advice to women to hold up high ideals to others when they are shut out from all that conduces to high ideals: "Women are always given the most difficult things to do in the most difficult way and generally supposed to like it so much that they do not want any pay." Great applause greeted her statement that "we are tired of being preached at." This great battle would teach women sympathy with all the countries that were fighting for their freedom.

[Some interesting letters relating to the Deputation will be found on p. 109.]

Miss Eva Booth, daughter of General Booth, has been elected by the Prison Congress at Washington as chairman of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners.

DEPUTATIONS TO M.P.'s.

Mr. Falle, M.P.

Mr. Bertram Falle, Member for Portsmouth, in reply to a deputation, said he would not vote for or against the Bill, and that he had not decided whether votes for women were for the good of the country. Asked if women were not entitled, after fifty years of work, to have time given to the consideration of the question, he replied that all men had not votes, and that a year or two more would not matter!

Major Coates, M.P.

Major Coates, M.P., received a very representative deputation, the members being Mrs. Fenner (Con.), Mrs. Macnamara (Lib.), Miss Margaret McMillan (Lab. Soc.), and Mrs. Bouvier (W.S.P.U.). Mrs. Bouvier drew Major Coates's attention to the composition of the deputation, all of whom were united in the support of the Bill. Mrs. Fenner spoke of the purifying influence women would have on politics. Mrs. Macnamara said that, although as a married woman dependent on her husband she would not have a vote, she saw the justice of the demand that women heads of households should have it. Miss McMillan spoke eloquently on the need of the vote for women who, like herself, had to make a position for themselves without the help of male relatives, and who, in their endeavour to work for the betterment of the poor, were thwarted through not having the protection of the vote. Major Coates admitted that he had no arguments against the justice of the demand of a vote for rate and tax-paying women. At the same time, he made it quite plain that his mind was made up not to help the women—(1) because the Bill was only the thin end of the wedge; (2) because of the "old-fashioned notion" that women ought not to be in the hurly-burly of politics, but on a pedestal. Miss McMillan remarked that a pedestal was a drawing-room piece of furniture, and not applicable to present conditions. Major Coates thanked the deputation for their instructive speeches, and Miss McMillan and Mrs. Bouvier warned him that the movement would have to go on, and that if regrettable incidents happened the blame would be laid at the door of men who, for sentimental or party reasons, refused to help the women in their fight for freedom.

Sir William Priestley, M.P.

A deputation waited last week upon Sir W. E. B. Priestley, M.P. for Central Bradford. It was as widely representative as and numbered more men than the one recently received by Sir George Scott Robertson. According to an account which we have received Sir William first cast aside as of no weight the arguments adduced by the married members of the deputation, saying only the single ones who occupied independent positions had any claim to be listened to, and a little later condemned the Conciliation Bill because the majority of married women, including those in the room, would not get votes under it. When asked if he had ever voted for a Women's Suffrage Bill he replied, "Not knowingly." On his referring to Adult Suffrage as being more logical, he was asked if he had supported Geoffrey Howard's Bill. He then asked, "What is Geoffrey Howard's Bill?" The feeling of the deputation was that argument was useless. Dr. Margaret Sharp, who had introduced the deputation, thanked Sir William for receiving it, and the members withdrew.

Miss Brackenbury has interviewed Mr. Haworth, M.P. for South Manchester. He would not promise to sign a petition, but only to exert his private and personal influence with Mr. Asquith.

Mr. Ure addressed a meeting of young Liberals at Slaitheate on Saturday. What, he asked, were they going to do when the election came? The simple question would be: "Do you desire to govern yourself, or somebody to govern for you?" A woman's voice rose from the front of the hall at this point with the remark: "We desire that women should have a voice." Mr. Ure said that was a very natural desire, and he hoped they would see it accomplished.

A Correction.

In our report of a deputation to Mr. Norman Craig, M.P. for Thanet, in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, it was stated that Miss Salis, hon. sec. of the Ramsgate N.U.W.S.S., represented both her own society and the W.S.P.U. This was an error, the W.S.P.U. being represented by the organiser for East Kent, Miss F. E. M. Macaulay.

OVERHEARD.

English Lady: "Oh, no; in spite of the marriage service statement—'With all my worldly goods I thee endow'—a wife in England has no legal claim on her husband's property. She has only a right to bare maintenance, and even that is not enforced unless she becomes chargeable to the rates. She doesn't possess the children she brings into the world. A married mother is not a parent in the eyes of the law!"
French Lady: "Mais—il ne vaut pas la peine d'être mariée!"

GIRLS CHEAPER THAN BOYS.

On January 1 the G.P.O. will begin employing girls instead of boys, as indoor messengers. It is said that the intention is to remedy to a certain extent the difficulty of finding places for the boys, for whom only a certain proportion of adult employment can be provided. The wage to be paid to the girl messenger is 1s. less than that paid to the boy.

MORE LIBERAL RESOLUTIONS.

On Thursday afternoon, at the Queen's Head Café, Bangor, a meeting was held of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association. Mrs. Price, vice president, presided, and proposed the following resolution in English and Welsh:—

That this meeting of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association expresses its approval of the Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage, and calls upon the Government to give facilities for its passage into law at an early date.

Miss Nan Evans seconded, and Miss R. Barrett spoke to the resolution, explaining the meaning of the Conciliation Bill and the importance of the movement for Woman Suffrage. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Haw Rowland then proposed the following resolution:—

That this meeting of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association, while affirming its confidence in Mr. Lloyd George's support of Woman Suffrage, urges him to reconsider his attitude on the Conciliation Bill, and to use his influence to obtain facilities for its passage into law this Session.

Mrs. Price White, in seconding, stated that since she had become a keen Suffragist she considered that her Liberalism had become deeper and truer than ever before. She urged the women to give a strong lead to the Government and Mr. Lloyd George on the question. The resolution was carried unanimously.

GRADUATES WANT THE BILL.

At a meeting connected with the London University Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, held at Manchester, on November 11, a resolution requesting the Government to grant facilities for the ultimate passing through of the Bill was passed. The speakers included Professor Weiss, Miss Sheavyn, and Dr. Vipont Brown. A number of letters had been received from graduates unable to be present, and Miss Burstall, who was in London, warmly supported the Bill.

AT MASSACHUSETTS.

The following resolution was adopted at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association in Lowell, October 27:—
"That we congratulate the brave women of England upon the passage of the Suffrage Bill to its second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 110, and join them in urging the Prime Minister to let the Bill come up for third reading and final vote."

WOMAN MAYOR'S VIEWS.

Mrs. Councillor Lees, the Lady Mayoress of Oldham, said some very good things on Woman Suffrage at a meeting recently in the Unity Hall. She said she had never met an argument against Woman Suffrage. She wondered where the wives, sisters, and daughters of the men who spoke at the Anti-Suffrage meeting in Manchester the other day were. Were they at their proper place by the fireside? She very much doubted it. For a woman to sit at the fireside when there was so much to do for their own sex was a pity. Oldham had just gone through an election in which woman had voted. Were any of the homes desolated? Were any of the children in poverty and rags through that vote? She did not like the idea of wheeling the men to get your own way. It was not a right way, and not the way that men approved. A Member of Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage stated the other day he hoped women would have a little more patience. It would be "a little" for women had nearly got to the end of their stock! She only hoped it would last out until the vote was won.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Friday, 18.—Caxton Hall Convention, 12 noon. The meeting is open to women only. Doors open at 11. Admission by ticket, 1s., to be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., or at the door. The meeting may reassemble in the afternoon, and those wishing to return may, on leaving the hall, obtain a pass from Miss Cooke at the door. Provided there is room, women who have not attended the morning meeting will be admitted later on the payment of 1s. Tickets originally purchased for the 22nd hold good for to-day's meeting. Will any London members or friends who can give hospitality call at the W.S.P.U. offices, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., and ask for Miss Ellen Smith, who will be glad of offers up to the last moment. The Kensington Town Hall meeting has been postponed.

Saturday, 19.—Mrs. Pankhurst at the Palace Theatre, Southampton (afternoon).

Monday, 21.—Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, E.L.B., 5 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst at the Town Hall, Hampstead, 8 p.m.

Thursday, 24.—Scala Theatre, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy Square, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, E.L.B., 8 p.m. Note: Not Memorial Hall, but Scala Theatre.

A full list of other meetings will be found on p. 108 of *1910*.



SUFFRAGE STAMPS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Why not Suffrage Stamp? The tri-colour ribbon, as used in your shops and depôts, is so dainty. May I suggest, parcel sending time being shortly upon us, that all your readers will fill up their string boxes with above, and vow at the same time to use none other?—Yours, etc.,
FRIEDLAND.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I thought you might like to see a luggage label (enclosed), of which I have had a dozen printed in the W.S.P.U. colours to affix to all my baggage going out to India on 25th inst. I feel I must carry both the colours and the cause with me, and I hope to do all I can to further the ideas and ideals of woman suffrage during my visit there; also to tell the story of the devotion and heroism which the women of England have shown and are showing in the cause of all womanhood and of the human race as a whole. I can't do much. I am not a speaker or public worker, but what I can do I shall never fail to do *con amore*. If your readers can give me any names and addresses of members or friends of woman suffrage in India, and especially in Calcutta, I should like to co-operate, if possible, in any scheme of help and propaganda. I have ordered two copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to be sent to me weekly, and will place one in a public reading-room every week while I am there. All good luck to the cause!—even "Old Moore," of Almanack fame, predicts the success of woman suffrage for 1911, and we all say "Amen."—Yours, etc.,
FLORENCE E. SMITH.

Paignton, Devon.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In fairness to myself, allow me to point out to "Another M.D." that my letter of October 28 was considerably sub-edited. Its *raison d'être* was to protest against the inclusion in a non-party paper of an article which was five-sixths "break-up of the Poor Law" and one-sixth Woman's Suffrage. I, and many others, do not agree with Mrs. Webb, and consider her plea for help in her campaign and the editorial "backing" it received was out of place. This was omitted owing to lack of space, also my protest against the enforced declining birth-rate among the lower-middle class in England—people who are willing and anxious to have children, but who have to deny themselves, realising the responsibilities of parenthood, while their substance is taken in rates and taxes to enable Mrs. Webb's protégées to obtain help without "hateful inquiries." Personally, I find it impossible to understand Mrs. Webb as a Suffragist. Our attitude is that all legislation affecting women is a present an injustice, as they have no voice in it. Mrs. Webb spends her energies in trying not to obtain redress for this fundamental grievance, but in endeavouring to support it by asking for help that men may legislate for women who have no say in the matter.—Yours, etc.,
M. D.

Nov. 15, 1910.

[This correspondence must now close.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

A CALL TO MEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—If the Women's Deputation has to go to Westminster, may I suggest that men should make a point of interviewing their M.P.s at the House of Commons at the same time. We still have the right of lobbying at the House, and if a few hundred, or better still, a few thousand men would insist upon seeking M.P.s at the House when the Women's Deputation sets out it might be useful. Men can do very little, but they can do something to emphasise that Votes for Women is now the general demand of men.—Yours, etc.,
JOSEPH CLAYTON.

Prospect House, Hampstead, N.W.,
Nov. 12, 1910.

To Members of the Deputation.

There are many women who are envying you your opportunities, and who, because of the work on which their bread depends, dare not follow in your leader's footsteps. Therefore, keep brave hearts as well as brave faces. Remember, the struggle cannot last, and yours may be the shot to bring the enemy's colours down. In the days to come, when sweated labour and immorality shall be behind us instead of ever in our midst, your down-trodden sisters will, from the depths of their bursting hearts, bless the names of those whose heroism eased their yoke and made their burdens lighter. Remember, too, no virtue can appeal so strongly to the men as courage. As the Spartan mothers of old armed their sons for battle, so do you by your own strength and fortitude brace your weaker sisters, and touch the hearts of the men, so that where reason and justice have failed, courage may succeed.—Yours, etc.,
A SYMPATHISER.

VOTES AND WAGES.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In connection with the above, may I draw attention to the thousands of trained and certificated women teachers at present unemployed, for which the Education Department, through failing to enforce its minutes and producing a supply of teachers in excess of the needs of the schools is directly responsible. The need of some of these unemployed young women is so great that many have been forced to seek indifferent posts outside the teaching profession altogether, whilst others have been compelled to fill the position of assistant teacher at the rate paid to untrained and uncertificated teachers. By this means the managers of the Local Education Authority secure the services of a trained teacher for the salary they would pay an untrained teacher, and when making the annual returns are enabled to enter such teachers as trained and certificated, and so secure the higher Government grant from the very Government Department which is directly responsible for the production of an excess of teachers. If women teachers had the vote, there is little doubt they would soon find the way to destroy this vicious system which allows governments and local education authorities to degrade and exploit women's labour.—Yours, etc.,
F. M. RUSSELL.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In the last two editions of your very interesting weekly journal you give us illustrations of a monument in Saragossa, indicative of the heroism of the women of that town during one of its sieges. They are certainly of a very inspiring character, and very appropriate under the circumstances, but, if the object is to demonstrate the loyalty, fidelity and heroism of women, there is no necessity to go to Spain—though (possibly it is to be regretted) nowhere else could such a monument be found. There are many instances of the heroism of our countrywomen recorded in the history of our country. Take Ireland, for instance. At the siege of Derry, when King James's army could not force the walls or take the town, they collected the women and children from the surrounding country, drove them under the walls, and left them exposed for days and nights, hungry and without shelter, exposed not only to the weather but to the fire of their husbands and brothers who were inside manning the walls and defending the town. The women with tears in their eyes called on the defenders not to mind them but to stick to their guns, and repeated the cry of the apprentice boys, "No surrender!" Again at the siege of Limerick, when hundreds of King William's soldiers rushed through a break in the walls, and Limerick was virtually taken, it was the women who, in many instances, led the charge that swept the stormers forth, time and again, from the old walls, fighting with any and every weapon that came to their hands, till for the time being the siege had to be raised. Not to go so far back, during the Indian Mutiny what deeds of personal heroism were performed by our countrywomen all through those terrible months in our nation's history! At the siege of Lucknow particularly, where they not only suffered all the miseries and dangers, but courageously supported and helped our beleaguered soldiers to defend the residency, carrying food and ammunition to the men, and in many instances loading their guns. Certainly if women's heroism is an argument in favour of their getting votes, there are few readers of history, few conscientious men of the world—or any man worthy the name—with any personal experience of their work in our large hospitals, or their lifelong domestic trials when sickness and troubles, disappointments and losses follow each other in many instances for long weary years, through which they are sustained with a heroism worthy of the Spartan mothers of old, who would not say, "By all manner of means give Votes to Women!"—Yours, etc.,
AN ULSTER MAN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Sir,—We Americans think you are all very wonderful. The Albert Hall meeting, from Box 18, looked and sounded Victory to us. I will be glad to help all in my power during my two months' stay.
Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) LA RHINE HELEN BAKER.

12, Fairfax Road,
Bedford Park, W.

WIMBLEDON ASKS FAIR PLAY.

Leading inhabitants of Wimbledon have sent a letter to the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, P.C., M.P., asking him to exercise his considerable influence so that the Conciliation Bill may receive the fair treatment to which its intrinsic importance and its number of supporters within and without the Houses of Parliament indubitably entitle it. Mr. Chaplin has replied that he "has not the slightest objection to the question being discussed. In view, however, of the fact that the Government have already intimated that they will take up the whole time of the House, he does not think that there is the smallest chance of the Bill being brought up during the present session."

MRS. SWANWICK AT MANCHESTER.

Mrs. Swanwick writes asking us to correct the impression given by our report of her speech at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in our issue of October 28. We willingly do so. Our report was based on that in the *Manchester Guardian* on the day following the meeting, in which it was reported that Mrs. Swanwick said: "Women were ready to go to prison themselves and to risk their lives for this cause. If they were asked to do it they would do it." Mrs. Swanwick asks us to explain that the gist of her speech was as follows:—"Men in great numbers have shown themselves favourable to the enfranchisement of women, but the leaders of men are slack about securing it, because they do not realise its importance. Of all living men, two—the Earl of Lytton and Mr. Bradlaugh—have really worked for this reform as if they cared for it, and why? They themselves would admit that it is because the sister of the one and the wife of the other braved prison and death for the sake of the cause. Are men suffragists really so unimaginative that they will not stir until their wives and sisters do these things? I cannot believe it. But if they require such proof, let them say so honestly, and women are ready to give it. Lord Lytton said truly that only through the voters can we get the vote. Men are constantly telling us that revolutionary action 'puts back the clock,' yet the fact remains that no men who approve of our constitutional agitation have done half so much as these two men. I want our friends who have the vote to believe that we desire it for women just as ardently as the revolutionary suffragists, and that they ought to be just as keen to help us in the way they—and we—think to be the right way as are these two men." Mrs. Swanwick adds:—"The action of the Manchester City Council has been an immense encouragement to our peaceful agitation. If men will come out on this question there will be no temptation to militant methods. This is no threat; it is a statement of fact."

"THE ROUGH END."

The London Education Committee has given another object lesson to women, which should teach them that there can be no equality of treatment for the women employed directly or indirectly by the Government until they win the same political power that men possess through the vote. A scheme of superannuation has been considered by the Committee. To this scheme the teachers are to contribute. Women teachers, who receive less salary than men teachers for doing precisely the same work, are to contribute a higher percentage of their salary towards the Pension Fund according to the following scale:—

	Men.	Women.
Under 25	4%	5
25 and under 30 ...	5%	6
30 and under 35 ...	6%	7½
35 and under 40 ...	7%	9½
40 and under 45 ...	8%	11
45 and under 50 ...	9%	12
50 and under 55 ...	10%	12½

Thus women lose both ways. They have to hold the rough end of every stick. In those States of America, where women have the vote, men and women teachers receive equal pay for equal work. The Chancellor of the Exchequer publicly admitted, when speaking in the Albert Hall in 1903, that if the women in this country had the vote the Government could not maintain a double standard of wages for equal work, i.e., one standard for men, another for women. For many years the women teachers have paid the larger share of the salary and maintenance of the M.P.'s in Parliament who are supported by the Teachers' Union. But they have no power to elect these M.P.'s, or to protest against the neglect of these men of the interests of the women members of this Union. The teachers should unite in the determination to work with might and main to win the Vote.

A FISHERMAN'S TESTIMONY.

"If women had been in command of the life boat during that gale, things would have gone better. Rare ladies they were at their meetings last summer; to hear the way they squashed any noisy questioners, no nonsense allowed at their meetings. When they stood up to speak we saw they had an ideal of what is good in them. They ran up a flag here, and it's my belief they don't mean to give in till they've won. Read VOTES FOR WOMEN? I always read it when I can. I get it most weeks."

Anti. Friend (teasingly): Oh, women are not intelligent enough to have votes.

Paper Seller: You have such queer ideas, I can't imagine where you were brought up! Don't your sisters ever try to teach you better?

A. F. (loftily): All the women in my family know their place.

P. S.: That, perhaps, is the reason why the men in your family don't know their place!

Weary-looking constable, as a fresh speaker stands up on the W.S.P.U. platform by Hoe Street Station, and plunges with vigour into her argument to a large crowd:—Why, there are relays of them! They are *never* tired.

Miss Helen Hickmott of Sevenoaks, asks us to correct the impression that the Welsh strikers had doomed hundreds of horses to death in the pit. The men's representatives in London have written to the *Daily News* saying that arrangements had been made with the management, and that wives had been sent to all lodge secretaries under the Cambrian Trust, to the Chief Constable, and to Mr. Llewellyn to alleviate the sufferings of the animals. In our note last week (page 82), we relied on the general report in the Press that the horses were kept in the mine through the action of the strikers.

PRACTICAL SYMPATHY.

At the Albert Hall on Thursday, Capt. C. M. R.A. (retired), announced his intention of paying to the Hon. Treasurer of the W.S.P.U. the amount of his taxes in January next, if the Conciliation Bill fails to receive full facilities. In an open letter he has informed the Inland Revenue Department of his intention. He wrote: "I have worked earnestly for close on two years to rouse officials and men of influence to the urgency and beneficence of this act of long-delayed justice. To this end I take this present step, and I urge you as a body to use your influence and the wisdom of your collective counsel to require of the Government that this measure of justice, which has received the support of a large majority in the House of Commons, shall forthwith become an established law for the betterment of our common humanity."

Members and friends will be glad to know that autographed photographs of the leaders are on sale at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

It is said that Bonaparte, when Consul, remarked to Mme. Condorcet: "I don't like to have women mix up in politics." And the wife of the philosopher did not hesitate to reply: "In a country where their heads are cut off it is natural that they should want to know the reason why."

GRAND MATINEE AT THE ALDWYCH THEATRE.

Particular interest centres in the special matinee to be given to-day (Friday) at the Aldwych Theatre at 2.30. Never perhaps have so many prominent members of the theatrical profession been seen together on one stage as will be assembled on this occasion. The "Pageant of Great Women" so enthusiastically received last year at the Scala Theatre, will be repeated with a truly star cast. Miss Lily Brayton will play "Justice," Miss Lillah McCarthy "Woman," and Mr. Henry Ainley "Prejudice," while the historical characters will be represented by Miss Lena Ashwell as "Florence Nightingale," Miss Gertrude Kingston as "Hypatia," Miss Evelyn D'Alroy as "Grace Darling," Miss Suzanne Sheldon as "Catherine of Russia," and Miss Mabel Love (who will on this occasion make a welcome re-appearance in London after a long absence) will be seen as "Elizabeth of Hungary." Over forty of the best known London actresses will go to the completing of the interesting cast, while Mrs. Despard represents the W.F.L. and Miss Frances Sterling the N.U.W.S.S. Miss Lillian Brathwaite, with the assistance of a bevy of youthful and charming actresses, will be in charge of the programmes, and Miss Bessie Hatton in dispensing literature will be supported by a number of distinguished members of the "Writers' League." George Paston's new play "Stuffing" will include the services of Miss Agnes Thomas, Miss Sydney Fairbrother, Miss Clare Greet, and Mr. Arthur Chesney, and Miss Cleoly Hamilton's one-act piece "The Homecoming" will give opportunities to Miss Auriol Lee, Miss May Whitty and Miss Marianne Caldwell. Other items will include songs by Miss Blith Clegg and Mr. Courtois Foulds, and dances by Mademoiselle Dollé. Tickets at usual theatre prices may be obtained from the Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Adelphi Terrace House, the Women Writers' League, 55, Berners Street, The Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, and the Aldwych Theatre.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Office: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Telephone: City 3104.

Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Dural.

Members are urgently requested to attend a business meeting to be held at the offices on Monday next, Nov. 21, at 8 p.m. sharp. To-day (Friday) men sympathisers have a last opportunity of interviewing their Parliamentary representatives in the Lobby of St. Stephen's on the subject of the Conciliation Bill. It is most desirable that Liberal members of Parliament should be made aware of dissatisfaction in their own constituencies at the prospect of a dissolution before the Woman Suffrage question is settled. With a General Election at hand, and campaigns to open in numerous London and Provincial constituencies, funds are urgently needed to extend the work of this Union. The hon. treasurer appeals for further contributions, and gratefully acknowledges the following donations:—Amount already acknowledged, £220 14s. 2d.; V. O. M. Gonne, 2s. 6d.; Capt. Gonne, 2s.; H. Grey, 1s.; R. H. Pott, 2s.; membership fees, 3s.; total, £228 0s. 8d. Birmingham.—A splendid meeting was held in St. Saviour's School, Salford, on Nov. 9, at which the Rev. G. Rosenthal and Mr. W. de spoke. The resolution, supported by Nurse Hutchinson, was carried with only one dissentient. Members have been busy advertising in various ways Mrs. Pankhurst's Town Hall meeting. Reading.—Gratefully acknowledged; David Margesson, 7s. 6d.

REMINDING JOHN BURNS.

On the occasion of the laying of a foundation stone by Mr. John Burns at Berrington Bush on Saturday, Mrs. Franklin laid stress on the fact that a deputation representing eleven societies in Liverpool, which asked for an audience, was not received, and this obliged her to ask publicly the question that they had a right to expect would be answered in private. A member of the Men's Political Union also demanded a direct answer with regard to the Bill. No reply was given, and the M.P.U. member was ejected by police and subjected to violence by one or two members of the audience.

Mrs. Councillor Lees, of Werneth Park, has been elected Mayor of Oldham, and was invested with the chain and robes of office on November 9.

MR. GOLDMAN, M.P.

Mr. Goldman, M.P., spoke at a largely-attended meeting under the auspices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association in St. John's Hall, Penzance, on November 8. Mr. Goldman said he was not there by compulsion, but he was compelled to be there by conviction. The question had been forced upon them not merely through the medium of platform oratory, but through the evolution of circumstances and events, which had very largely changed our whole outlook on life and spheres of employment. The result of the discussion in the House of Commons of the Conciliation Bill he regarded as a great triumph of the cause of women's rights. Most assuredly woman suffrage would be conducive to the welfare of the nation as a whole. The tendency to-day was not towards the destruction of the Empire, but towards the building up of homes. Contact with national economic problems would make woman more womanly than she could be under existing conditions. Speeches were also made by Lady Betty Balfour, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Boyd Carpenter, and Canon Maddrell. A telegram was received from Lord Lytton, saying that a large meeting at Exeter had passed a unanimous resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and hoping that Penzance would follow suit. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The deputation to Mr. Sylvester Horne, M.P., reported in last week's issue, was arranged by the Secretary of the Women's Freedom League, and two representatives from each of the following societies in addition to those of the W.S.P.U. were present: Ipswich Branch of the W.F.L., Ipswich Branch of the Independent Labour Party, Women Workers' Federation, and Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society.

SOUTHPORT DEMANDS THE BILL.

A resolution calling upon the Government for further facilities for the Conciliation Bill was passed without a dissentient by the Southport Council. Aldermen Young, Foggett, and Brighouse spoke strongly in support of the measure, and although Alderman Griffiths declared that he wanted a thorough radical measure and was not satisfied with the Bill, there was no voting against the resolution.

THE PRESS ON THE SITUATION.

THE TIMES.

Abandonment of all the business of the session has some obvious advantages for a Government confronted with many awkward questions, such as the taxation of Irish whisky, Woman Suffrage, the Osborne judgment, and the disastrous consequences of its drifting legislation.

THE SPECTATOR.

Consider for a moment how much the Government would be relieved by not having to meet Parliament before the Dissolution. (1) They need not make specific but only general promises to the Irish. (2) They might be forced to say definitely whether they mean to reform or not reform the Upper House on the lines of Sir Edward Grey's scheme. (3) They will be freed from coming to any definite decision as to woman's suffrage, and so will be able to secure the help of the Liberal suffragists at the polls without having to pay the price. Promises to women are easily made by candidates at a General Election, and it is the custom on one side not to keep them and on the other to forget this fact and to trust to "Liberal principles, etc., etc."

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

This staunch friend of the Woman's Movement brought out a Special Supplement with its issue of November 16, giving full reports of the two Albert Hall meetings on Thursday and Saturday. In a leading article the Editor says:—"In view of the present critical position of the Women's Suffrage movement—the fate of the Conciliation Bill hanging in the balance—we have thought it well to issue with this number of the *Christian Commonwealth* a supplement giving full reports of the speeches at the two great demonstrations in the Albert Hall on Thursday evening and Saturday evening. In our judgment these utterances are, taken as a whole, of historic importance. . . . It is time this question was settled, and we appeal to the Government at least

to give such guarantees as will prevent next week a repetition of the painful scenes which have marked the later stages of the agitation for the enfranchisement of women."

The principle of the Bill, which gives votes only to women who pay rates and taxes, is admitted by the majority of all parties to be just, moderate, and democratic. It has been carried on the second reading by a majority of 119, and is only prevented from becoming law by the pressure of what are considered to be prior and more urgent claims upon the attention of the Government, which so far has shown no inclination to give time for the Bill to be passed through all its stages.

—*Lancashire Daily Post.*

The woman suffragists have been very patient during their forty years of persevering work, carried on in faith that Parliament would do them justice. And since the Conciliation Bill was brought forward the militants have been patient also. What they say now, and what Ministers ought to recognise, is that the House of Commons, having given second reading to the Bill, the Government ought to afford facilities for its further progress. The suffragists are entitled to ask for the Conciliation Bill or for a better one. No Government is justified in defying the House of Commons.

—*Dunfermline Journal.*

Mr. Birrell was presumably only expressing an individual opinion, but it is evident that he is prepared to take a strong stand on the matter. Whether he would carry his championship of the women's cause to the length of retiring from the Government in the event of "facilities" being refused is his secret, but it is evident that the result of his efforts on behalf of the Bill will depend not so much on the measures which he himself may take to redeem his pledge as on the proportion of his colleagues whom he is able to persuade to act with him in the matter. —*Leamington Chronicle.*

What of Mr. Churchill? In Manchester he assured the Suffragettes that he was their friend. The Churchill brain is of the kaleidoscopic order; the Churchill political friendships are as a rule short-lived.

—*Dundee Courier.*

Whatever opinion may be held as to the claims or the methods of the agitators for female enfranchisement, it must at least be acknowledged that Mr. Lloyd George has given them ample reason to recognise the bitter truth of the aphorism—

"An open foe may prove a curse,
But a pretended friend is worse."

As an example of cowardly and provocative shuffling, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's recently reported interview with certain of the Women's Suffrage advocates would be difficult to match. Having given them every reason to regard him as an active and convinced sympathiser with their claims, and one who was prepared to use all his Ministerial and personal influence for their advancement, the Chancellor of the Exchequer now makes it clear that he has been cynically playing a double game in this business and that nothing is further from his intention than to give any effective help to the cause to which he has rendered so much meaningless lip-service. It is not in the least necessary to be an advocate of enfranchisement for women in order to recognise the mean "altruism" of Mr. Lloyd George's whole attitude in relation to this question. —*The Commentator.*

ADVICE GRATIS. THE GLOBE.

We notice that the Suffragettes are threatening to take an active part in the coming election in order to bring their special views more prominently to the front. We do not in the least undervalue their influence, and we have no intention of belittling it when we ask them to be kind enough, for once in a way, to keep out of the fight. It is a contest in which cries of "Votes for Women" will have no sort of relevance, and can only serve to obscure the real issues in the minds of a few very muddled people.

The Suffragettes assert their desire to see the Radical Government defeated. They must forgive us for saying that the best means they can take to promote that highly desirable end will be to keep quiet. We are not playing at politics just now, but preparing to engage in what promises to be the bitterest struggle of our time. To discuss "Votes for Women" in this crisis is about as appropriate as to deliver lectures on vivisection during the siege of Port Arthur. There is a time for all things, and the ladies will, or ought to, recognise that there are other things to be done than dust the furniture when there are burglars in the house. If they really want to help they can do what we hope thousands of quiet Unionist women will do all over the country. They can see to it that their men vote and bring others with them to the poll. The woman who gets two men to vote who might otherwise have neglected their duty will have done more for her country and her sex in this battle than if she posted the Nelson Column from top to bottom with demands for a vote for herself.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

To-day (Friday) is an important day in the history of the women's movement. While others are in the forefront of the fight itself, what are you going to do? A special announcement about the deputation to-day will be found on p. 108.

General Offices: W.S.P.U. 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

At the present time it is imperative that the Women's point of view with regard to her demand for the vote should be known all over Britain. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union can best achieve this by seeing to it that everyone has an opportunity of reading *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Pitch captains will be very glad of new volunteers, especially now when the work is so urgent. All the pitches need new workers. Names should be sent in to Miss Ainsworth, Women's Press, 155, Charing Cross-road. Write at once, and then do your part in this great battle.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Hafford, 55, Barry Road, East Dulwich.

Members are reminded that the success of the Whist Drive in Avondale Hall, Peckham, to-morrow (Saturday) at 7 p.m. depends upon the personal efforts of each one. Will they please let the Secretary know as soon as possible how many friends to expect?

CHELSEA, KENSAL TOWN, AND BATTERSEA.

Shop and Office—296, King's Road.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Haig and Miss Blacklock.

A Jumble Sale will be held in Battersea early in December. Parcels should be sent to Mrs. Bartlett, 34, Lamborne Road, Chiswick, who has kindly promised to receive them. Miss Barwell and Miss Richards held a meeting in Kensal Town last Thursday. It is most important that these meetings should be kept up, as it is a part of Chelsea that will need a great deal of work in the forthcoming election.

CHISWICK.

Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. A. Coombe, 95, Sutton Court Road.

Office—495, High Road.

On Friday last a very interesting debate took place at the office between Mr. Valon and Mr. Whiteside, the latter being a real Anti and a clever debater. Local friends are heartily invited to these interesting free Friday evening meetings.

CRYSDON.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Croydon. Tel. 955 Croydon (West).

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 79, Mayfield Road, Sandhurst, Surrey, and Miss Leslie Hall.

Thanks to those who helped by stewarding, etc., at the Croydon meeting on Saturday last, and to those who worked so hard at the Jumble Sale on Monday. Members are reminded that another Jumble Sale will be held later on. They can start putting their old things aside for it immediately. Many thanks to Miss Wallis for her subscription of 2s. towards the reception at the Art Gallery.

FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Henning, 329, High Street, East Ham.

A drawing room meeting was held at Mrs. Friedlaender's on Wednesday, November 9, when Dr. Garrett Anderson gave a splendid address to a crowded room, gaining many new sympathisers. Dr. Edith Simpson was in the chair. A good collection was taken, and much literature sold. Mrs. Whitten gave a most inter-

esting address on Friday at Marlham Green. Lady Sybil Smith has kindly consented to open the Christmas sale on December 3 at Marlham Hall, for which all kinds of articles will be gratefully received at above address. Miss Whigmore is thanked for kind presents of home-made jam.

GREENWICH AND BETHNAL.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Ellinghurst.

Office—7, Ashcroft Road, Blackheath, S.E.

Open-air meetings have been held at Stockwell Street on Tuesday by Miss Wilson and Mr. Knitter, M.P.U., and on Friday at the Broadway and at Stockwell Street by Mrs. Leigh and Mr. Wilks, M.P.U. Will members purchase their household necessities from the local Union to help the funds? The hon. sec. will be glad of Jumble Sale parcels as December is drawing near. The monthly At Home will be held on the first Thursday in every month at the Ethical Hall, 157, Greenwich Road.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—95, Heath Street.

Organising Sec.—Miss M. Rowlett.

A large crowd listened to Miss Nagler's stirring address on the Heath on Sunday morning. Members are wanted this week to help in advertising the Hampstead Town Hall meeting. There will be a Foster Bazaar on Saturday afternoon. Will all those able to take part be at the shop not later than 2.30? On Monday, November 21, a great many helpers will be required to decorate the hall, chairs, and distribute handbills. Miss Mary Smith is thanked for her generous gift of a stove to heat the shop. Also Mrs. Birnie, who has given a cupboard. Contributions gratefully acknowledged.—Mrs. Hanson, Mrs. Magrath, 2s. 6d.; and Miss Angier, 3s.

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. C. Haslam, 28, Cranbrook Road.

Successful meetings have been held at Manor Park and Ilford. Mrs. Darden's concert will be held in the Cecil Hall on Thursday, December 1, at 8 p.m.

ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casserley, 39, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, N.

Bill distributing, selling papers at open-air meetings and chalking are most useful at present. Workers are needed.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—122, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2119 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. E. E. 1, Wrentham Avenue, Wulstan, and Miss Morrison, B.I.

Owing to the deputation to-day (Friday) the Town Hall meeting has been postponed. The Jumble Sale proved a great success, the takings amounting to about £30. Many thanks to all those who helped at the sale, especially Miss Edwards, Mrs. Rogers, Miss G. Wylie, and to Mrs. Denham for so kindly housing the parcels during the weeks preceding the sale. Contributions from the following are gratefully acknowledged:—Miss McLeish, Mrs. Judd, Miss Bactz, Miss Housman, Miss M. Trim, Mrs. Nesbitt, Mrs. Pott, Miss G. Wylie, Miss Mott. The December At Home will be held on Wednesday, December 7, at St. Victoria Road, Kensington (by kind permission of Mrs. Corbould) at 4 p.m. Speakers will be announced later. A large and varied assortment of scarves, ties, fancy leather goods, Hamilton lace, and other articles suitable for Christmas presents will be found at the shop, and it is hoped that members and friends will do as much of their shopping there as possible. Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Rogers, 6s.; Mrs. J. Hart, 12s. 6d.

WHERE TO SHOP.

Bedding Manufacturers.

Heal & Son

Bootmakers.

Debenham & Freebody, Shoobred's, Derry & Toms, Spiers & Pond's, Lilley & Skinner, William Owen, Peter Robinson.

Chiropodists.

Misses Clark

Coal Merchants.

W. Clarke & Sons

Dentists.

Chodwick Brown, Shipley Sligger.

Drapers and Hosiery.

Beddalls, Debenham & Freebody, Robinson Brown, Derry & Toms, Shoobred's, Hyam & Co., Spiers & Pond's, John Barker, Walpole Bros., Peter Robinson, William Owen.

Dressmakers.

Alfred Day, Maud Barham, Beddalls, Moss Puckle, Debenham & Freebody, Mrs. Oliver, Derry & Toms, Peter Robinson, Folkard, Robinson Brown, Hyam & Co., Shoobred's, John Barker, William Owen, Marie Matthew.

Dyers and Dry Cleaners.

Brand & Mollison, B. Day & Co., Clark & Co.

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Furnishers.

Derry & Toms, Shoobred's, John Barker, Spiers & Pond's, Heal & Son, William Owen.

Jewellers and Silversmiths.

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We would remind our readers that they can help VOTES FOR WOMEN by dealing as far as possible exclusively with advertisers in the paper.

REPRODUCTIONS

The master cabinetmakers of the XVIIIth Century produced pieces which have never been surpassed before or since. These have been reproduced by Heal & Son with an admirable and exact fidelity, while others have been skilfully adapted to accord with modern requirements, retaining at the same time the simple dignity of the originals.

Our "Bedroom Furniture" Booklet contains many suggestions.

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LAMBETH.

Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 57, Drewstead Road, Streatham.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acacia Grove, Dulwich. The lecture on Josephine Butler, delivered by Mrs. Lorraine, terminated the series of lectures on Great English Women. It was an honour to welcome on this occasion the sister of Josephine Butler. A unanimous vote of thanks was passed to Mrs. Smith for her kindness in placing her drawing-room at the disposal of the Lambeth Union. Gratefully acknowledged: towards General Expenses—Miss Richardson, £1. Mrs. Powell, 2s.; A. Baxter, Esq., 5s.; Mrs. Wood, 1s.; Mrs. Chirn, 2s. 6d.; Miss O. Mills, 10s.

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Shop hours, 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Seymour, 23, Mount Pleasant Road. A debate on Votes for Women was opened by Mrs. Boulton on Monday, November 7, at St. Mary's Hall, Camberwell. Appreciative audiences listened to Mr. Warre Cornish at Catford on Friday, and to Miss Teresa Garnett and Mrs. Leigh on Hilly Fields on Sunday, when deputations handbills were distributed. Remember the Christmas stall and Jumble Sale, for which more goods will be most welcome.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—218, High Road, Kilburn. Tel. 1183. Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden.

The anniversary gathering held at the Kilburn Athenaeum on November 7 drew together a large audience, who greatly appreciated both the speeches and the excellent programme. Mrs. A. J. Webb, from the chair, and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield gave most interesting addresses, and the reference they both made to the need for women's influence in bringing about social reforms greatly touched the audience, many of whom were new to the cause. Mrs. Mabel Tuke, in a graceful speech, brought hearty congratulations from headquarters to the local union on its first year's work. Several new members were enrolled, and a collection of nearly £5 was taken. Most hearty thanks are tendered to all the artists whose kind services gave so much pleasure. The shop is attracting a constantly increasing number of customers. More volunteers are needed to serve in the shop. Paper-sellers and speakers are also much needed. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Lilian McKay 5s., Miss Phoebe Richards 5s., Dr. Helen Hanson, 4s., Miss Suckling 2s. 6d., and per Miss Llewellyn 1s.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop—505, Fulham Road. Hon. Secs.—Miss Cutten, 57, Farnson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

Two open-air meetings were held last week, as well as the debate at Kelvedon Hall, at which a most interesting discussion took place, Miss West being ably supported by Misses Naylor and Canning, Mrs. Oliver-Watts and others. At the open-air meetings the speakers have been Miss Bonwick and Miss Gilliat. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Robinson 5s. towards special shop rent fund. As a very small acknowledgment of the splendid work done last June and July by the Misses James and West, the branch sent up £1 to the Albert Hall collection.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glengariff, Kew Road, Richmond.

This Union is making satisfactory progress—new members have been steadily coming in, and at the last meeting alone the membership was increased by no less than five. On Saturday, November 12, Miss Arnott addressed an attentive and sympathetic crowd. The Hon. Literature Secretary (Mrs. Jacobs, Evanette, Maze Road, Kew) will be glad of more paper sellers.

WALTHAMSTOW.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. David Milne, 23, Cleveland Park Avenue, Walthamstow.

As a result of the recent by-election a Walthamstow W.S.P.U. has been formed. Mrs. Drummond was present at a meeting on Monday evening, when officers were elected as follows:—Treasurer, Miss Hart; Secretary, Mrs. Milne; Literature Secretary, Miss M. Hillman; Votes Secretary, Nurse M. Dorkins; Lecture Secretary, Miss Overall. One local member has volunteered for the Deputation. It is hoped to hold a public meeting on Saturday, Nov. 26. Will all sympathisers communicate with the Hon. Secretary at once—there is a lot of work to be done.

WIMBLEDON.

Hon. Organising Sec.: Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Norton, Surrey. Shop: 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon. Tel. 1022, P.O. Wimbledon.

Quite a sensation was caused locally by the decorated cart, which for five hours drove through the principal streets collecting jumble parcels, advertising the Albert Hall meeting, the Sale, and the cause generally by special posters (some the gift and work of Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson) and flags. Members in official marching dress distributed handbills and sold Votes for Women from the cart with astonishing results. The jumble sale on Saturday was a great success, hundreds of people taking entrance tickets. The stewards are to be congratulated on their excellent work and patience. The net proceeds are £19, of which £15 are being handed to Miss Mary Gawthorpe for her Manchester stalls at the Great Northern Exhibition, as a tribute of regard and sympathy in her long illness, from Wimbledon members and associates. The remaining £4 will form the nucleus of a special £10 fund promised by Wimbledon at the Albert Hall meeting. Contributions towards this will be welcome. The Albert Hall contingent numbered 88, many of whom had never before witnessed a suffrage mass meeting. Will more volunteers come forward for paper selling on Fridays and Saturdays?

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Hon. Secs.: Miss Phyllis Ayrton, 62, Edith Road, Kensington, W. Miss Cynthia Maguire, 13, Carlton Vale, W. W.

The Clerks' Committee of the W.S.P.U. has already done such splendid work in advertising City meetings, etc., that it is suggested that a special "Clerks' W.S.P.U." should be started. This would be a means by which all clerks, secretaries, etc., in the Union could get into touch with each other, and a great deal of good, practical work could be done (in advertising the Memorial Hall meetings, for instance). At this time, especially, when so many clerks are longing to take part in the Deputation, but are prevented from doing so by their employment, this would be a splendid means of helping on the non-militant work.

Will every clerk in the W.S.P.U., however little time she has to spare, write to one of the Secretaries? Now is the time to "Play up!" Let everyone put her shoulder to the wheel and the Clerks' W.S.P.U. will be the greatest success that ever was.

Home Counties.

BEDFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Billingham, 45, Tavistock Place.

Owing to the illness of Lady Constance Lytton, the meeting announced for December 12 will have to be postponed. Any helpers for canvassing or paper selling will be very welcome.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Young, "Barbice," Sea Road, Bexhill.

A most successful and sympathetic meeting was held on Wednesday. Speakers were Mrs. Kent (local President) and Miss Billing. "Votes for Women" tea was used and much appreciated.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—6, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 1033 (Nat.)

Organiser—Mrs. Clark. The "Level" demonstration on Saturday last was a great success, the resolution being carried at each of the four platforms. Local members sent £30. 10s. in money and promises as their contribution to the Albert Hall meeting. Office minders, paper sellers, and speakers are much needed. Saturday, November 19.—Front. Open-air Meeting. Monday, Nov. 21.—Front. Open-air Meeting. Thursday, Nov. 24.—"Bon Bon Shop," 42, Preston-street, Whist Drive, Speech and Music.

CANTERBURY AND EAST KENT.

Office—2, York Terrace, Ramsgate.

Organiser—Miss F. E. Macaulay. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's beautiful speech at Margate last Friday won all hearts, and the resolution was carried unanimously. The chairman (Mr. Oak Rhind), in his effective address, spoke of the member for Thanet's support of the Conciliation Bill. After the meeting Mrs. Barnett-Smith gave a delightful little reception, at which many of the Herne Bay members, who had come in for the meeting, were present. Hearty thanks are due to Mrs. Barnett-Smith and her splendid little band of helpers for their hard work in preparing for the meeting.

OXFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. E. F. Richards, 209, Woodstock Road. Shop—25, High Street.

On Wednesday afternoon Mrs. Richards addressed Mrs. Baglestone's "Circle" of women in St. Ebbe's, Mrs. Purdon in the chair. On Friday evening Miss Graham and the Rev. F. Spencer spoke at an open-air meeting at the Plain. On Saturday afternoon Mrs. Richards addressed a number of the women teachers of Oxford and district at an "At Home" given by herself and the Hon. Organising Secretary. Many thanks to the ladies who shared the duties of hosts.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Organiser—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 7, Cranewater Avenue, Portsmouth.

Thanks to Portsmouth members who came forward so splendidly for poster parades on Friday and Saturday. To this the success of Monday's meeting was largely due. There was a very good attendance, and the resolution was carried with one dissentient. An At Home will be held in the Ashburton Hall on Wednesday, November 30, at 3.30 p.m. Gratefully acknowledged:—Southampton Sympathiser 2s., Fraulein Friedberg 1s., Mrs. L. Peacock 2s., L. Peacock 2s., Mrs. Douglas Price 5s., Mrs. Seymour 2s. 6d., Mr. McMahon 2s. 6d., Mrs. Taylor 1s., Mrs. Whitehead 1s., Southampton Friend 2s.

Saturday, Nov. 19.—Southampton, Palace Theatre, 3 p.m.

RAYLEIGH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage, Shop—High Street.

Members are reminded of the weekly meetings at the shop every Tuesday at 8 p.m. The shop is open every evening except Wednesday. Many thanks to Mrs. Hare for gift of articles for sale. The hon. sec. will be glad to receive further gifts and offers of help.

READING.

Shop and Office: 36, West Street.

Organiser—Miss Margesson. Two most successful meetings have been held this week, one in the Caversham Bridge Hotel, and the other at the Whiteley Schools. Both of these were addressed by Mrs. Ayrton Gould, who was much appreciated. At the evening meeting Mrs. Mortimer took the chair with great charm. On Wednesday afternoon Mrs. Gould again addressed a meeting at the Guildhall Restaurant, Newbury. At all these meetings fresh members were made. Tickets for the Newbury meeting may be had, price 1s. and 6d., through the organiser, at Digby, Newbury.

Wednesday, Nov. 25.—Y.M.C.A. Debate, 8 p.m.

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Richmond, Pengates House. A successful demonstration in support of the Conciliation Bill, arranged by the Men's League in con-

junction with the N.U.W.S.S. and the W.S.P.U. was held in the Market Hall on Friday, Nov. 17. Miss Margesson spoke on the W.S.P.U. platform with great earnestness and effect.

Wed., Nov. 23.—Carlton Room, 77, Station Road, Miss Ford, Miss Wilson. Chair: Mrs. Richmond, 8 p.m.

ROCHESTER AND CHATHAM.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Gundry, 22, Stuart Road, Gillingham.

Will members please note that the next meeting takes place on Tuesday, November 29, when a well-known local sympathiser has kindly promised to speak.

SOUTHEND AND WESTOLIFF-ON-SEA.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Orr, Seacroft, The Cliffs, Westoliff-on-Sea.

A meeting will be held in the Cottage Tea Rooms, Nelson Street, on Monday, November 21, at 8 p.m. Owing to Political Situation members and friends will please rally.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—97, John Bright Street. Tel., 1415 Midland. Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans.

Birmingham has been electrified these few days by the latest method of advertising. The fact that Mrs. Pankhurst was speaking in the Town Hall on Tuesday was brought to public notice by means of square lanterns fitted with electric light which shone through, throwing up the words "Mrs. Pankhurst, Town Hall, November 15," in strong relief. These were made by members of the M.P.U. Members who turned up so devotedly and carried these somewhat weighty burdens are cordially thanked. They were in the streets for 11 hours altogether. A private view of the work for the Northern Suffrage Exhibition stall will be held in Queen's College on Friday, December 9, at 3 and 8. Will members please send in their goods before that date? Seventeen members have volunteered to join the deputation.

Friday, Nov. 18.—Studley Castle Horticultural College, Miss Dorothy Evans, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, Nov. 23.—Stourbridge, Young Liberal Association, Miss G. Hazel, 8 p.m.

Friday, Nov. 25.—Queen's College, Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 3 and 8 p.m.

LEAMINGTON.

Organiser—Miss B. Ryland.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Bull, Ashton House.

Work is now in full swing for the Town Hall meeting, to be addressed by Lady Isabel Margesson and Miss Gladys Hazel on Dec. 1, at 8 p.m. Will all members and sympathisers please take tickets from Miss Bull to sell to their friends, and also help in as many other ways as possible.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester. Tel., 1718 Leicester.

Organisers—Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Bowker.

Members are urged to be present with their friends at the lecture next Monday. Admission is free, but a collection will be taken to defray expenses. The organiser reminds all members that the Christmas Sale in the shop will soon be here, and suggests that all who cannot take their part in the fighting line shall make a special effort, by making saleable things for the shop, to fill the war-chest and support the Cause in this way. Promises will be welcomed now, and goods should be sent in by December 1. The splendid response to the appeal for funds to present at the Albert Hall resulted in 33 guineas from Leicestershire—this sum will be devoted to extension of the work in this county. As election rumours are in the air, members are urged to seize every opportunity of practising speaking, as their help will be greatly needed when the time comes.

Sunday, Nov. 20.—Nottingham Cosm. Debating Society, Miss D. Pethick, 3 p.m.

Monday, Nov. 21.—Colton Street, Girls' Social Guild. Lecture, M. Paul Hyacinthe Toyson, 3 p.m.

Tuesday, Nov. 22.—Sunday School Memorial Hall, New Walk, 4 to 6 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—4, Carlton Street, Tel., 4411.

Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. Burgis, 21, Chancery Street.

Miss Hodge, from Australia, will speak at Room 76, Mechanics Institute, on Tuesday, November 29, instead of Wednesday, 30th. Mrs. Lees is ready for more orders for mince pies—please order early. Mrs. Shaw or Miss Hickling would be grateful for more promises of money for shop fund sent to them at 6, Carlton Street. Crackers in the colours are on sale there. Will all who have not sent in ticket money please do so at once to Miss Wallis. Thanks to Mrs. Pascoli for machine. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Foster (Sole Fund) 10s., Mrs. Clayton (Shop Fund) 3s.

Wednesday, Nov. 23.—6, Carlton Street, Sale, Sewing Meeting, 2.30 p.m.; Room 76, Mechanics' Institute. Committee Meeting, 7.15 p.m.; Mrs. Cameron-Swan. Chair: Mrs. Shaw, 8 p.m.

West of England.

BATH.

Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge, Wincanton.

Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath.

A number of influential Bath residents have signed a memorial to the Prime Minister asking for further facilities for the Woman Suffrage Bill, to enable it to become law this autumn. Among those who signed the memorial are Archdeacon Fish, and B. Phillips, Esq., ex-Mayor. On Monday, November 7, Mrs. Kington Parkes held a meeting in the small room in the Guildhall, with the result that several local members of the W.S.P.U. are seriously considering the advisability of refusing to pay their taxes. The local papers had long accounts of the meeting, and posters were to be seen everywhere bearing the words "Bath women asked to resist taxation." The next big event will be Lord Lytton's visit on Wednesday, December 7.

EXETER.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Montague, Penton, Crediton.

A large and appreciative audience listened to Lady Isabel Margesson last Friday in the Upper Victoria Hall. The chair was taken by Mr. Linford Brown, who is always ready to help the cause.

Friday, Nov. 18.—Victoria Hall, Miss Annie Kenney, 8 p.m.

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer—Mrs. du Santoy Newby, St. Mary's, Broad Park Avenue.

Hon. Literature Secretary—Miss Ball, Nursing Home, Larkstone, Ilfracombe.

Two well attended meetings were held last Saturday, when many strangers were present and listened with much appreciation to Lady Isabel Margesson. In the afternoon the Rev. D. Hodgson, M.A., made an effective speech on the justice of women's demand, and in the evening the Right Rev. Bishop Powell was also very eloquent on the subject. Much literature was sold, and some new members were made. Many thanks to those who acted as stewards, sold papers, and distributed handbills.

WILTS.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road, Gifford.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Katharine Abraham, 2, Eastcourt Street, Devizes.

The next suffrage event in Devizes will be the Town Hall afternoon meeting to-day (Friday), at which the Rev. Geoffrey Ramsay will speak on "The Awakening of Womanhood," and it is hoped that all local sympathisers will make an effort to attend. Wiltshire members are asked to notice that a Sale of Work in aid of the W.S.P.U. will shortly take place at Box, where Miss Story Maskelyne, of Bath House, will be glad to receive articles for sale.

Friday, Nov. 18.—Devizes Town Hall, Rev. Geoffrey Ramsay, 3 p.m.

SPECIAL SALE—AMERICAN BOOTS & SHOES

Also Large Quantity of

MANUFACTURERS' HIGH-CLASS SAMPLES

At Very Low Prices to Clear . .

SALE Continues till NOVEMBER 26, 1910.

Some of the Lines in the Sale.

Tan Willow Calf Derbys and Laced Boots	Special Price	10/11
Tan Willow Calf Laced Shoes—Wear Guaranteed	Special Price	9/11
Large Quantity Ladies' Boots—Sizes 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 only, Usual Price 16/9	Special Price	9/11
American Boots, Laced only, Fashionable Grey Suede tops	Special Price	12/11
American Shoes, two designs—Patent or Glace Kid, Goloshed, Grey Suede tops	Special Price	8/11
Real Glace Kid Laced Shoes, a few pairs only—Grey Suede tops	Special Price	7/11
Real Glace Kid, Smart, Laced or Bar Shoes, Solid Leather Soles	Special Price	6/11½
Job Line—Best All Felt Slippers, Felt Soles, Black, Red, Fawn	Special Price	1/4½

SAMPLE PAIRS AT REMARKABLY LOW PRICES—CASH ONLY.

LILLEY & SKINNER, LTD.,

63, WESTBOURNE GROVE.

NOTE ADDRESS.—The only Branch where these goods can be obtained.

Wales.

NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES.

Office—45, Clarence Place, Newport.
Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., East Lynne, Upper Bangor.

Mrs. Montague spoke at last Thursday's At Home. Will members please bring unconverted friends with them each week? At a meeting arranged by Mrs. Edmunds and Miss Butler at Pontypool on Friday, Mrs. Montague again spoke, with Miss Dobell in the chair. The resolution was carried unanimously, and a good collection was taken. A jumble sale will shortly be arranged. Will friends please collect goods? Further particulars will be given in next week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Thursday, Nov. 24.—Savoy Hotel, 3.30 p.m.

NORTH WALES.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., East Lynne, Upper Bangor.

Great excitement was felt this week over the Bangor City Council meeting, where the resolution was passed with only three dissentients. Bangor women filled all the seats reserved for the public in the Council and followed the debate with keen interest. On Thursday afternoon a very well attended meeting of the Bangor Women's Liberal Association was held, particulars of which will be found elsewhere.

Thursday, Nov. 24.—Bangor, Town Clock, Miss Barrett, Mr. Simpson, 7 p.m.
Friday, Nov. 25.—Carnarvon, The Square, Miss Barrett, Mr. Simpson, 7 p.m.; Drawing-room Meeting, Miss Barrett; Hostess, Mrs. Evans, 3 p.m.

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich Shop—4a, Prince's Street, Ipswich.
Shop Sec.—Miss King.

A special members' meeting will be held at the shop to-morrow (Saturday), when it is hoped to be able to complete the arrangements for the Christmas Stall. Will every member please do her utmost to be present? It has been decided to sell VOTES FOR

WOMEN outside the Theatre on Saturday afternoons. Fresh paper sellers will be gladly welcomed and should give in their names at the shop.
Saturday, Nov. 19.—Shop, Members' Meeting, 3 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

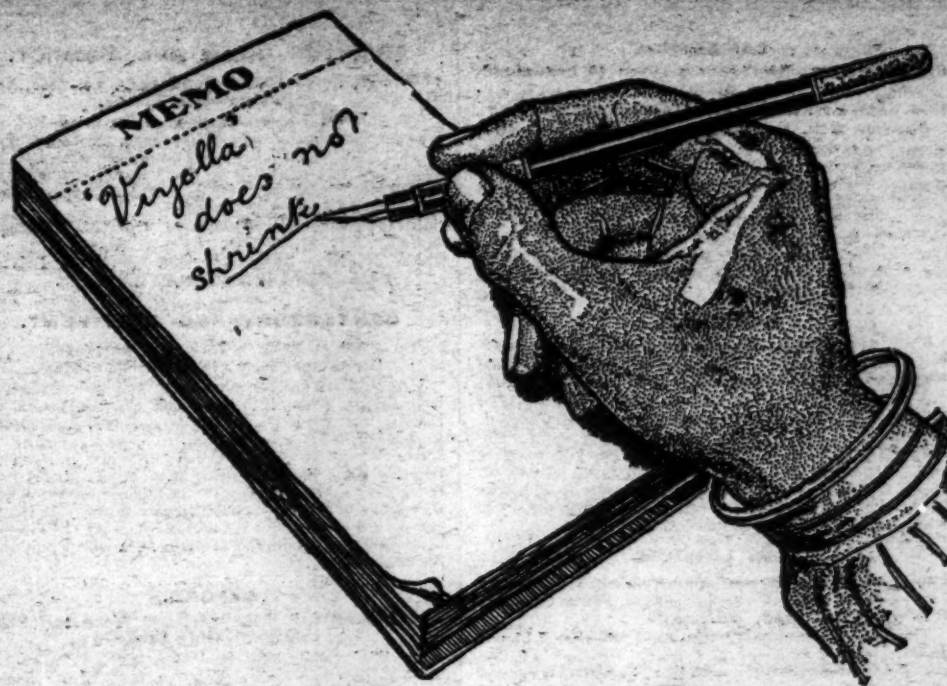
The proceeds of the St. George's Hall meeting amounted to just over £30. Mrs. Beldon is warmly thanked for her generous gifts to the office, including a hearthrug and footstool, and half the cost of a much-needed cupboard, the rest of which was made up by other friends. But, most of all, workers, especially paper sellers, are wanted; also goods and money for the Southport stall. During Mrs. Keeling's temporary absence, Miss Milner Wilson will gladly take names of paper sellers. Miss Mary Beldon—another new recruit—reports good sales in Darley Street on Friday morning.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street.

Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 203, Westgate Road.

At the invitation of the Newcastle I.L.P. the organiser gave an address in the Socialist Institute on Sunday, November 6, on the moral side of the women's movement. On Tuesday, Mrs. Atkinson and the organiser addressed the Caxton Branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild. An interested audience listened to the speakers at the Wednesday At Home. Miss S. Eden was in the chair. On Thursday the organiser and Mrs. Atkinson held a meeting in the Ingham Hall, South Shields. Monthly meetings will be held during the winter at the Ingham Hall. Members must bring friends, or, better still, enemies. Mrs. Leydon, the energetic paper-seller, is increasing the sale, 42 copies being ordered by her for this week. Mrs. Crow's sale at Jarrow has reached seven dozen. Will members do their best to canvass the women in their neighbourhood who have the municipal vote, and induce them to come to the Wednesday evening meetings? The organiser is anxious that these meetings should for the future be



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¶ For early Winter wear—when smartness must be combined with protection against chill—the "VIYELLA" Blouse is just the thing, inasmuch as "VIYELLA" is warm though light, soft though sturdy in wear, does not shrink in the wash, is made in a wide variety of dainty colourings, and because the new Winter "VIYELLA" Shirt-Blouse designs are the smartest, simplest, and most effective that have ever been produced.

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LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

November, 18	Balham, near Assembly Rooms.....	Miss Cather	7.30 p.m.
" "	Camberwell, Grove Lane.....	Miss Robinson.....	7.30 p.m.
" "	" " opposite Empire Theatre	" "	8.30 p.m.
" "	Catford, Tram Terminus.....	Miss Emily Davison	7.30 p.m.
" "	Chelsea, Limerston Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chiswick, 496, High Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Croydon, Katherine Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Fulham Open-Air Campaign	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Harrow Road, Sutherland Avenue	" "	7 to 9.30 p.m.
" "	Harvist Road, Police Station.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Herne Hill, near Station.....	" "	7.30 p.m.
" "	Hornsey Road, Seven Sisters Road	" "	7.30 p.m.
" "	Islington, Penton Street	" "	7.30 p.m.
" "	Kilburn, Brondesbury Road	" "	7.30 p.m.
" "	Stratford Grove	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Thornton Heath, Clock Tower	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent,	" "	8 p.m.
" "	The Broadway.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Woolwich, Royal Standard.....	" "	8 p.m.
Saturday, 19	Balham, 14, Balham Park Road.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Battersea, Allwell Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Brixton, Rushcroft Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chelsea, Blacklands Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chiswick, High Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Cricklewood, Yew Grove.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Croydon, Katherine Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hampstead, Finchley Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Jack Straw's Castle	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Manor Park Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Balfour Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Copenhagen Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Kilburn, Messina Avenue	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Market Place.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	" Shop	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Pockham, Avondale Hall, Bellen-	" "	8 p.m.
" "	den Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Purley, Tram Terminus	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Putney Open-Air Campaign	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Streatham, Fire Station	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Upper Holloway, Giesbach Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Willesden Green Library.....	" "	8 p.m.
Sunday, 20	Battersea Park	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Clapham Common	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Croydon, Katherine Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle, The	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Heath	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Newington Green	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Hilly Fields	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Putney Heath	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	" "	8 p.m.
Monday, 21	Basano Street, Lordship Lane.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Borough, Polytechnic	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Clapham, Plough	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chelsea, Manor Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chelsea, Sloane Square.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Dulwich Library	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Fulham, Town Hall, Haverstock	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hill	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Herne Hill, near Station.....	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, 68, Cranbrook Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Packington Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Kensal Rise, Harvist Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Obelisk	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Norwood, Victoria Hall, Gipsy Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Pentville Road, Welsh Church	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hall	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	" "	8 p.m.
" "	" "	" "	8 p.m.
" "	West Croydon, 2, Station Buildings	" "	8 p.m.
Tuesday, 22	Lordship Lane, S.E., I.L.P. Centre,	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hansler Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Paddington, 50, Praed Street	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Walham Green	" "	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 23	Chelsea, 308, King's Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Hampstead, 12, Belzize Square	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Kilburn, Brondesbury Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Messina Avenue	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Nutfield Place, Midgway Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Tollington Park	" "	8 p.m.
Thursday, 24	Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street,	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Fitzroy Square, W.	" "	8 p.m.
" "	" "	" "	8 p.m.
Friday, 25	Brecknock Road, Boston Corner	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Chiswick, 496, High Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Earlham Grove	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Harrow Road, Sutherland Avenue	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Harvist Road, Police Station	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Kennington Park	" "	8 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent,	" "	8 p.m.
" "	The Broadway.....	" "	8 p.m.

The Choicest New Season's Fruits and Spices, for Mincemeat & Christmas Puddings

All Fruit is dry cleaned by Patent Machinery.

SULTANAS.		
Finest Carabourna ..	Per lb. 7 lbs.	
Large Fruit ..	-/8 4/7	
Greeks ..	-/7 4/-	
	-/6 3/5	
CURRANTS.		
Finest Heavy ..	-/8 3/5	
Vostizza ..	-/5 2/10	
Finest Patras ..	-/4 2/5	
Fine ..	-/3 2/-	
SUET.		
Refined (S. & P.'s), lb. pkt.	-/9 1/2	
(Suet freed from skin and nothing whatever added.)		
Hugon's, 1-lb. carton ..	-/10 1/2	
(Shredded ready for use.)		
SPICES, Mixed Spice.		
Finest Quality, 2-oz. tin ..	-/5	
Tins, 4-oz., -/5; 1-lb., -/8 1/2; 1-lb. 1/3		
Nutmegs.		
Whole ..	per lb. 1/3	
Ground, 1-oz. tin, -/3; 2-oz. tin, -/4 1/2		
4-oz. tin, -/7 1/2		
Cinnamon (Ground).		
Tins, 1-lb., 1/10; 1-lb., 1/-; 4-oz., -/7		
2-oz., -/4		
RAISINS (Valencias).		
Extra Selected, in original		
7-lb. Box ..	4/3	
Best Selected ..	-/7 4/-	
Large Denia ..	-/6 3/5	
Bold ..	-/5 3/1	
Fine Quality ..	-/4 2/5	
Stoned (1-lb. Cartons) ..	-/6 3/5	
PEEL, Candied.		
(Best quality only.) Per lb. 7-lb. box.		
Lemon ..	-/5 3/-	
Orange ..	-/5 3/-	
Citron ..	-/8 4/8	
"Mixed ..	-/6 3/5	
Cut Orange and Lemon ..	-/4 2/9	
Crystallised Cut Mixed, per carton ..	-/7 1/2	
"Contains in 7-lb. Boxes the proper Proportions.		
ALMONDS, Cooking.		
Extra Bold ..	Per lb. 1/9	
Valencia, Finest ..	1/7	
" Fine ..	1/5	
Bitter ..	1/3	
Ground Sweet 1-lb. tin, -/5; 1-lb. tin, -/9		
1-lb. tin, 1/5		
FLOUR for Puddings.		
Whites, 7-lb. Bag ..	-/11 1/2	
14-lb. Bag ..	1/0 1/2	
Extras, 7-lb. Bag ..	1/-	
14-lb. Bag ..	1/11	

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IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Cork has followed Dublin's lead and its City Council has passed a resolution demanding from the Government immediate facilities for the passing of the Conciliation Bill. The subject was brought to the notice of the Council by a deputation of the members of the local branch of the Irish Women's Franchise League. Miss Day, local secretary, is to be congratulated on her masterly management of the Council campaign. It is hoped Belfast and Derry will follow this example. Two members of the League spoke in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, this week, where a meeting had been arranged by local sympathisers. This was quite new ground, and it was most encouraging to find when a vote on the subject was put that everyone present was in favour of our demand, and highly pleased with the tone of the meeting. At the weekly meeting (Tuesday) at Antient Concert Buildings, Miss Webb took the chair, Mrs. Richardson, B.A., spoke of her experiences in canvassing the women municipal voters. Mr. Bridgman also spoke. Two deputations attended to ask the I.W.F.L. to help in an attempt to get the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act extended to Ireland. Madame Maud Gonne spoke for the Daughters of Erin deputation, Mr. James Connolly for that from the Socialists. Madame Gonne is announced to speak on suffrage next Tuesday. An appeal is made for contributions to a special fund to pay expenses of several members willing to go on the Deputation to Parliament.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Members of this Society can congratulate themselves on the share they have taken in two large public meetings last week. On Friday evening at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, they held, in conjunction with the Professional and Industrial Women's Suffrage Society, a very successful meeting. The Society's representative, Mrs. Louis Pagan, whose eloquence is already well known, had a splendid and well-deserved reception from a large and sympathetic audience, whilst the Rev. Herbert Williams made his debut on the Women's Suffrage platform in a speech full of reasoned conviction. This Society also took part officially in the Albert Hall Demonstration on Saturday, and in addition members have supported the various other meetings held during Suffrage Week. Miss Muriel Matters spoke at the weekly At Home on Tuesday last, when the office was crowded to overflowing. The Committee hope that members will do their best to be present at the Sale of Christmas presents at the Office on Tuesday, December 6, as funds are especially needed in view of the coming General Election.

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President—The Bishop of Lincoln.
Offices—11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

On Nov. 8th the Rev. C. Hinscliff addressed a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association at Bromley, at which the following resolutions were carried:—(a) That the Government be asked to give facilities this season for the Conciliation Bill, (b) That members of the association should refuse to work for any Liberal Candidate who is opposed to granting the suffrage to women, but should transfer their services to the nearest constituency contested by a Suffragist Liberal. Members can help by lending drawing rooms, buying pamphlets, Christmas cards, etc., at the office, and making a compact with friends that, instead of exchanging expensive Christmas presents, the money for this purpose shall be devoted to League funds. Branch Secretaries are requested to send notice of any forthcoming meetings two or three weeks beforehand to the Press Secretary, Miss Lillian A. Cowell, 22, Halberstadt Mansions, 122 Charing Cross Road, W.C., and also a short account of each meeting after it has taken place.

"TOO LIMITED."

The busy bee is not to be compared with the busy Suffragist... for the Suffragist week, seven days are all too few of strenuous effort and unceasing eloquence on behalf of the Conciliation Bill. And the militancy! They sort a mere week whose efforts are perennial, and London is too limited a field for them. Their efforts range from Edinburgh, where Miss Christabel Pankhurst has been speaking, to Margate, with some concentration in Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Southampton and Liverpool. Thursday sees leaders and followers mustered in the Albert Hall at one of the meetings which the "Votes for Women" party show a genius in arranging.

—Sheffield Daily Telegraph.

One of Mrs. Pankhurst's crowning charms in oratory is her "sweet reasonableness." With silver tongue she combines a cool head, a whole-some outlook, a logical mind.

—Liverpool Daily Courier.

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Perfume (2/6 & 1/3); Soap (2/3 per box of three tablets); Bath Salts (1/3 per 4lb. tin); Shampoo Powders (1/3 per box); Sachets filled powder or blooms, from 6d. each.
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THE CHALET, SPELDURST, KENT.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

Mrs. Kington Parkes addressed most interesting meetings during the last week at Bath and Bristol. Keen interest was shown and it is probable that more active resistance may be the result.

EIGHT AND A-HALF YARDS OF SUFFRAGE NEWS.

In our paragraph under above title last week we referred to Mr. Cameron Swan as Hon. Sec. of the Greydon Men's League. His title is Hon. Organising Secretary, the Hon. Sec. being Mr. Read, Yew Tree Cottage, Redham, Surrey.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, BELFAST.

This is an important week in the history of this Society, as Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc., is with us. On Tuesday evening she held a speakers' competition at Dr. H. Bell's, and on Wednesday she took part in a debate, having as an opponent Mr. Anderson, Barrister-at-Law. Last night (Thursday) she spoke in the Orange Hall, Ballynagagh, and to-night (Friday) she will speak in the Clarence Place Hall. There will be two At Homes, one kindly given by Mrs. Hickey and the other by the Society in Ye Olde Castle Restaurant. A short time ago, two members, Mrs. Hobson and Mrs. Wadsworth approached Mr. R. Thompson, M.P., and got him to sign a paper promising his support to the Conciliation Bill or any other Bill for Woman Suffrage which shall be brought before the House.

A MUSIC-HALL SONG.

A topical duet, by "Spry Palmer," is being sung in the music halls by Foy and Gibson, of which the following is the final verse:—
(SHE) There's a lot of piffle talked about the Woman Suffragettes.

(HE) I should say so.
(SHE) I should think so.
(HE) They are brave, determined women, and that means they'll conquer yet.

(SHE) I should think so.
(HE) I should say so.

(SHE) They don't want to sit in Parliament, or rob man of his coat.

(HE) They don't want to wear the trousers, or act the "giddy goat".

(SHE) But they want to make things better, so they ought to have the vote.

(HE) And they'll get it.

(SHE) Sure as eggs!

NEWS ITEMS

In response to enquiries we are glad to announce that a few copies of *The Throne* for October 22, containing the picture of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, are still to be had. They may be obtained from the Proprietors, 161, Strand.

The Bechstein Hall was crowded last Monday when Miss Elma Baker, of Birmingham, gave a recital, and showed to great advantage in a repertoire of English, French, German, and Italian songs, her full, clear mezzo-soprano voice. In addition to her natural gift, Miss Baker has had the advantage of excellent training.

Among the many bouquets presented to Mrs. Pankhurst at the Albert Hall was one from the members of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, and one had a card attached with the words: "From a Street seller to The Liberator of Women."

IN MEMORIAM.

A few weeks ago the death of one of the youngest and most enthusiastic members of the W.S.P.U., Marjorie Exelby, was recorded in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Miss Exelby became a member of the Union twelve months ago, at the age of 19, and from then until the time of her death she devoted every moment of her spare time to furthering the cause of Woman Suffrage. Besides convincing indifferent people that the voteless condition of women to-day is the cause of so much misery, she persuaded them to attend Suffragette meetings, she regularly chalked scores of pavements in order to announce meetings, and she would stand for hours outside Finsbury Park Station and in Holloway Road selling *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. She marched bravely in the last two London processions, and she would often stand holding the purple, white, and green flag at the local open-air meetings. She was not physically strong, but she manifested unflinching stoicism. Only a few weeks before she died she said to her mother, "Before I joined the W.S.P.U. I was happy, but now I am fifty times happier." She died of pneumonia on August 21 after three days illness. I think no finer example of devotion and unselfishness can be offered than Marjorie Exelby's life, and from it many others may learn a lesson, and come forward and help the W.S.P.U.—F. B.

WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

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LEAGUE OF ISIS.

MISS JANET STEER begs to announce that MRS. FRANCIS SWINNEY, Author of "The Awakening of Women," "The Cosmic Procession," "The Bar of Isis," "The Esoteric Teaching of the Gnostics," will give a lecture entitled: "THE MYSTERY OF THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS," or the Interpretation of Sex, on MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, at 3 O'CLOCK, at 53, SLOANE GARDENS, S.W. (one minute from Sloane Square Station). No charge.

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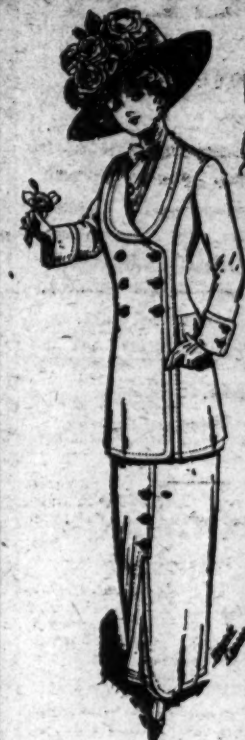
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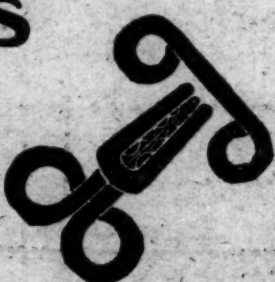
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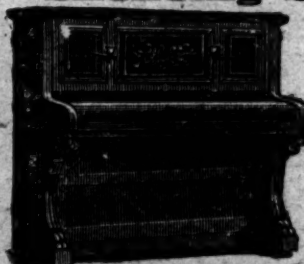
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